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Frontiers and Borders

The Formation of Europe
Historische Formationen Europas
Band 7

Herausgegeben von
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Raingard Eßer and Steven G. Ellis

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Raingard Esser and Steven G. Ellis

Introduction

Border Regions in Early Modern Europe[1]

In twenty-first century Europe it had seemed, until very recently, that the nation state was on the retreat. It was being replaced, apparently, by the concept of regions, both micro-regions within states and macro-regions of contiguous states. The growing belief in an 'ever closer union' may have been stopped in its tracks by the Dutch and French votes against a European Constitution in 2005 and by the current euro crisis, but regions within the EU remain important units in the reconstruction of political, economic, social and cultural space.[2] Regions do not, however, replace the nation state on a grander or smaller scale. They are multi-faceted and more 'open-ended'.[3] It can be argued that this fluidity of the attributes attached to regionality is also reflected in the tendency both by different agents in the regional arena and by academics studying regions and regionalism to invoke the 'region' as a marker of identity. The 'fuzziness' of the term is also acknowledged within the scholarly community: their inquiries no longer focus on the search for a firm definition or a taxonomy of regions.[4] As Douglas Reichert Powell noted a few years ago: 'The emphasis is not on what regions are, but why they are that way, on what they do as much as what is done to them.'[5] This openness of the 'region' as a concept has furthered a constructivist approach to its study. That regional identities are constructed has certainly become a truism in academic research. The construction of identity and mem-

1 We would like to thank Joachim Eibach and Richard Hoyle for their useful comments on this introduction.

2 See, for instance Claus Leggewie, Für ein anderes Europa der Regionen, 17 September 2012, www.die-gdi.de/CMS-Homepage/openwebcms3.nsf/(ynDK_contentByKey)/MRUR-8Y89VP (accessed 17 December 2012).

3 See Michael Keating, Rescaling Europe, in: *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, 10, 1, 2009, 34–50; Miloš Řezník, Konzeptionelle Überlegungen zur Europäischen Regionalgeschichte, in: Peter Jurczek/Matthias Niedobitek (eds.), *Europäische Forschungsperspektiven: Elemente einer Europawissenschaft*, Berlin, 2008, 89–106.

4 Michael Mann, Globalization, Macro-Regions and Nation-States, in: Gunilla Budde/Sebastian Conrad/Oliver Janz (eds.), *Transnationale Geschichte. Themen, Tendenzen und Theorien*, Göttingen, 2006, 28. See also Douglas Reichert Powell, *Critical Regionalism: Connecting Politics and Culture in the American Landscape*, Chapel Hill, 2007, 7.

5 Powell, *Critical Regionalism*, 7.

ory discourses at a regional level has been studied extensively in recent years.[6] Numerous monographs and articles now explain how these regional identities have contributed to creating, changing, undermining and strengthening ideas and concepts of the nation.[7] More recently regions have also been conceptualized in the framework of Frontier and Border Studies, thus emphasizing their relationship to their political neighbours in another state across a boundary line. The study of border regions has profited from such initiatives as the development of new historiographical theories and methodologies of cultural transfer, from comparative history, and also from the concept of a '*histoire croisée*', often insufficiently translated into English as 'entangled history'. Similar to the 'entangled histories' whose intellectual origins are rooted in Subaltern Studies, *histoire croisée* emphasizes the reciprocity of the influence of cultures in contact across borders. It also requires a pluriperspectivity of research which goes beyond the two or more (political) entities usually studied in these contexts. Beyond traditional studies about cultural transfer, this approach reintroduces the category of a national culture into the debate, emphasizing that transnational and cross-border contacts cannot be sufficiently understood without reference to their wider national contexts.[8] In the light of this renewed emphasis on the connections of social, cultural and political formations, researchers have now proposed to take political borders more seriously as markers of difference than had been the case in some more recent scholarship on border regions.[9] It is per-

6 See, for instance, Steven Ellis/Raingard Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers, Regions and Identities in Europe*, Pisa, 2009; Stephen Jacobson et al., What is a region? Regions in European history, in: Saúl Martínez Bermejo et al. (eds.), *Layers of Power: Societies and Institutions in Europe*, Pisa, 2010, 95–150.

7 For a brief overview on these studies, see Stephen Jacobson et al., What is a region? See also Maiken Umbach (ed.), Municipalism, Regionalism, Nationalism: Hybrid Identity Formations and the Making of Modern Europe, Special Issue, *European Review of History*, 15, 3, 2008.

8 On the difference between '*histoire croisée*', 'entangled history' and 'cultural transfer', see Hartmut Kaelble, Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt?, in H-Soz-u-Kult, 8 February 2005, http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/forum/id=574&-type=artikel (accessed 17 December 2012).

9 For instance, A.J. Pollard, Use and ornament: late-twentieth-century historians on the late medieval north-east, in: *Northern History*, 42, 2005, 61–74; M.M. Meikle, *A British Frontier? Lairds and Gentlemen in the Eastern Borders, 1540–1603*, East Linton, 2004, 1–15. The focus on cultural exchange and transfer is a long-established tradition in Ireland: the seminal article in this context is James Lydon, The problem of the frontier in medieval Ireland, in: *Topic: A Journal of the Liberal Arts*, 13, 1967, 5–22; reprinted in Peter Crooks (ed.), *Government, War and Society in Medieval Ireland: Essays by Edmund Curtis, A.J. Otway-Ruthven and James Lydon*, Dublin, 2008, 317–31.

haps not surprising that historians who study border regions while employing this aspect of the concept of *histoire croisée* are particularly interested in the history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, thus in historical periods in which clear references to the nation state and defined lines of demarcation – rings of fortifications staffed with border guards, boundary stones and poles, fences and walls – can play a role in the relationship between cross-border regions.[10]

At first sight, borders in early modern Europe were less clear-cut than in modern times. Cartography delineating what was within and what was without a distinct territory only gradually emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; and lines of demarcation, which were often depicted in maps through colouring, were more times than not left to the judgement of the cartographer who could not rely on accurate surveys.[11] This perceived vagueness of territorial integrity, which emphasizes geospatial descriptors, has led to an assumption that borders should be interpreted as border zones (or 'marches', as the medieval technical term was) whose political lines of separation remained porous and which served more as zones of contact and exchange rather than providing strict lines of inclusion and exclusion.[12] This interpretation, however, ignores aspects of the character of early modern boundaries which were, at least for most of Europe, perceived and defined less by clear geographical lines, than by powers of jurisdiction, taxation rights and feudal obligations. The emergence of the early

10 This renewed emphasis on the role of political (state-) borders as markers of distinction and difference (which, at the same time, does not exclude mutual influences) has also been recognized, for instance, in the current ESF-funded EuroCORECODE-project Unfamiliarity. See also Stephanie Schlesier, Grenzregionen als Experimentierfeld. Von der Notwendigkeit Vergleich, Transfer und Verflechtung zu kombinieren, in: Agnes Arndt/Christiane Reinicke/Joachim C. Häberlen (eds.), *Grenzregionen, Vergleichen, Verflechten, Verwirren*, Göttingen, 2011, 268–94.

11 See Günter Vogler, Borders and Boundaries in Early Modern Europe: Problems and Possibilities, in: Steven Ellis/Raingard Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500–1850*, Hannover, 2006, 21–38. See also Günther Lottes, Frontiers between Geography and History, in: ibid., 39–71.

12 This idea has been particularly developed in scholarly debates about the character of the American frontier in the 1990s: see, for instance, Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815*, Cambridge, 1991; Michael N. McConnell, *A Country between. The Upper Ohio Valley and its Peoples, 1724–1774*, Lincoln, NE, 1992; Eric Hinderaker, *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio Valley, 1673–1800*, Cambridge, 1997. For a critique of this approach, see, inter alia, Hermann Wellenreuther, 'Enclave' and 'exclave' on the North American Revolutionary Frontier: Schönbrunn and Welhik Thuppeck, in Ellis/Eßer, *Frontiers and the Writing of History*, 245–73.

modern state and the division of Europe along confessional lines also changed the nature of borders and frontiers. The monopoly of power in the hands of one sovereign – for instance the right to mint coins, to make and enforce laws, to raise taxes and to try capital offences – replaced in many instances the dissipation of power in the medieval feudal hierarchy. Having rights of jurisdiction over a community of subjects separated areas in which these rights applied from those where they did not. The wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries further facilitated the need for lines of demarcation, and many of the early modern borders were indeed military frontiers marked by border fortifications, which were most poignantly described by Marquis de Vauban in his *Mémoire sur les Places Frontières de la Flandre*, published in 1678.[13] The conflicts of the Confessional Era and the peace treaties of Augsburg and, later, Westphalia, manifesting the right of territorial rulers to define the religion of their subjects – *cuius regio, eius religio* – seemed to consolidate these clear lines of demarcation and to force a dissenting part of the population to conform, to emigrate or, in border districts between two confessions, to commute at key moments of the religious calendar to the other side of the confessional border so as to fulfil their spiritual needs. Benjamin Kaplan has recently pointed out that it is short-sighted to see the doctrine of *cuius regio, eius religio* solely as a marker of separation which fomented difference. In many instances, certainly in border areas, it also facilitated what Ad Knotter has for a later period, with reference to geographer J.V. Minghi, labelled the border paradox.[14] Knotter proposes that a boundary can create its own distinctive region, wherein an element of division also provides opportunities in respect of the other side of the border. Uneven developments in bordering states or territories facilitate cross-border trade and mobility with mutual advantages. It can be argued, with Kaplan, that while the monopoly of the early modern state on determining the religion of its subjects set a clear marker of identity, the quiet acceptance of dissenting commuters from across the border offered the possibility to keep the peace at home and to consolidate the imposed confessional status quo.[15]

13 Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban, *Mémoire sur les Places Frontières de la Flandre*, Paris, 1678.

14 Benjamin J. Kaplan, Religious encounters in the borderlands of early modern Europe: The case of Vaals, in: *Dutch Crossing*, 37,1, 2013, 4–19; Ad Knotter, The border paradox: uneven development, cross-border mobility and the comparative history of the Euregio Meuse-Rhine, in: *Fédéralisme Régionalisme*, 3, 2002–03 (Mobilité et identités dans l'Eurégio Meuse-Rhine) http://popups.ulg.ac.be/federalisme/document.php?id=237.

15 Language, another instrument of centralizing power, was, to judge from recent scholarship, not used in a conscious and systematic manner by early modern authorities. See Thomas Nicklas/Matthias Schnettger (eds.), *Politik und Sprache im Frühneuzeitlichen Europa*, Mainz, 2007.

Early modern borders in Europe were, therefore, both permeable and fixed at the same time. Their permeability was the result of various factors, notably a lax enforcement of border controls, or indeed the lack of political will to act in this matter; the lack of a fixed – or an agreed – geographical division between one territory and another; and at times the simple disregard by the borderers themselves of the rights of the respective overlords. Permeability allowed the transfer of goods (sometimes illegally) and people from one jurisdiction (and tax and price regime) to another. Borders were fixed in the sense that the differences between being under the one jurisdiction, as opposed to another, were nevertheless known to contemporaries, and were often utilized by them for their own advantage when it suited.

The following articles address questions of distinction and similarity in border societies. They had their origins in a conference on Frontier and Border Regions, which was held in the Moore Institute at the National University of Ireland, Galway, in June 2012. During the conference the participants discussed the nature of border regions as zones of contact or areas of separation. The term 'region' lacks an agreed definition in a European context. In eastern Europe, a region is more normally seen as a macro-region (the Balkans, or the Baltic), whereas regions in western Europe are more frequently 'sub-national units', or micro-regions. Regions are normally constructed and imagined internally by their populations; and they may be defined in terms of environment or climate, administration, commerce and the economy, language culture and religion, or history and identity. In most cases, too, the status of regional and transnational history in the different national systems reflects to a large degree 'the national agenda', viz. the past political and cultural contexts in each country which have shaped the national grand narrative.[16] In these circumstances, it seemed best not to try to circumscribe speakers at the conference in regard to definitions of regions, and this usage has been maintained in the chapters in this book. While, for instance, the Anglo-Scottish border has a clearly defined and relatively static northern boundary, which is physically signified in parts by the construction of dry dikes (which served also to inhibit cattle raids) as well as by the course of rivers or the watershed of the Cheviots, its southern limits were more fluctuating and indistinct: even the formal limits of the English marches did not automatically coincide with county boundaries, since the west

16 S.G. Ellis, Introduction: regional and transnational history in Europe, in: S.G. Ellis/Iakovos Michailidis (eds.), *Regional and Transnational History in Europe*, Pisa, 2011, 1–10.

march comprised Cumberland north of the river Derwent and the barony of Westmorland. On the other hand, Brabant, Upper Guelders, Neuchâtel, Basle and Sedan, the topic of a number of chapters, are, relatively, clearly defined territories with a tradition of particular jurisdictions and also of lordship – a ducal family, a succession of prince-bishops – dating back to the (early) Middle Ages. In this respect, critics might challenge the term 'region' applied here as a misnomer. In themselves, the above-named territories were self-contained political and administrative units with a clear sense of unity and a strong tradition. All of those, however, functioned as parts of the wider composite state, in which they played a particular regional role. Given the diversity of early modern European frontiers, what holds these chapters together is the position of the territories under investigation at a borderline, and it is in this respect that we wish to apply the term 'region': a region as linked to a border scenario which, in many instances, was the result of warfare and military occupation, which either separated or connected territories.

The starting point of these discussions was a desire to reassess the role of politics in Border Studies. It was felt that recent historiographical trends had underplayed this in favour of a focus on cultural exchange and transfer rather than on division and exclusion. We were wondering whether the focus on communality and reciprocity put forward in recent scholarship had not overshadowed the importance of categories such as the rule of law and administrative and other institutional networks based on political power structures which were distinct on the two sides of the border. Difference was and is a common feature in Europe and borders 'provide normative patterns that regulate and direct interaction'.[17]

The assembled case studies from Continental Europe, Britain and Ireland offer a wide range of border scenarios including: the changing confessional and political borders in the Swiss Cantons and the Low Countries; the militarized border zone in Tudor Ireland; and the more stable, long-term, but no less volatile border region of Scotland and England which, in a manner similar to the Irish case, is also characterized by military institutions. Two studies address the hegemonic powers of the French state – in the first example through research on the Bourbon confessional policy in seventeenth-century Sedan, in the second through an analysis of the revolutionary discourse exported from

17 David Newman/Anssi Paasi, Fences and Neighbours in the Post-Modern World: Boundary Narratives in Political Geography, in: *Progress in Human Geography*, 22, 1998, 194.

late eighteenth-century France to Brabant in the Southern Netherlands. One chapter looks at the perceptions in the Holy Roman Empire of Livonia, a border region imagined as a bulwark of Christianity against heathens and heretics. Chronologically the contributions span the period from the late fifteenth to the early nineteenth century.

Thematically, the studies fall into three sections addressing a number of regional players: government authorities, local elites and agents of the Catholic church. Anna Groundwater and Chris Maginn discuss the role of institutions in the establishment of regional identity. For Groundwater, the persistence of Scottish governmental structures and their headquarters in Edinburgh remained a key feature in the newly created Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England in 1603. She argues for a reassessment of distinction rather than confluence by pointing out the differences between the Scottish kirk and the Church of England south of the border; she emphasizes the different legal systems which continued to operate on either side of the border; and she points out that career opportunities for the Scottish elite remained within reach of Edinburgh rather than forcing ambitious borderers to seek their fortunes in London. This argument, which will certainly fall on fruitful ground in a Scotland awaiting a referendum on independence in 2014, is also developed in respect of Tudor government in Ireland. While Groundwater emphasizes the endurance of existing institutions, Chris Maginn analyses the Tudor plans for new government structures in Ireland. While some of these remained more or less paper exercises which only enjoyed limited success in bringing English rule, let alone English culture, to Ireland, the Tudor regional councils erected in Munster and Connaught outlived – albeit reshaped in Irish conditions – their Tudor creators. Similarly, the chapters by Steven Ellis and Gerald Power argue for the vitality and longevity of English institutions and practices (not just legal, but also economic, as Ellis demonstrates) in the English Pale, a region posthumously redesigned as the Gaelic heartland of the Irish state. All of these chapters argue for an understanding of difference in contemporary perceptions as traced in government records, but also in literary sources such as ballads and poems. The chapters of both Groundwater and Ellis also alert us to the present-centredness of historiographical debates which were and still are harnessed to a national agenda.

As regards those chapters which focus on governmental authorities, Maginn's also provides a bridge to the following set which use the perspective of a centre to shed light on the rhetorical and practical strategies used by central powers to impose their policies on border regions. What holds this second set

of chapters together, therefore, is not so much the relationship between one region and another, divided by a border, but the means applied by a centre to gain hegemony over a peripheral, in some instances a newly acquired, region on the borders of a state. The rhetoric of liberty, unity and patriotism is analysed in Brecht Deseure's study of the media employed by the French authorities to convince Brabant's citizens of the revolutionary cause and their role within the new France. Images of unity, in this case of Christianity, are also at the centre of Dennis Hormuth's chapter on sixteenth-century German perceptions of Livonia. Alison Forrestal analyses the policy of the newly created Congregation of the Mission in strengthening the Counter-Reformation in Sedan, as fostered and supported by the French king Louis XIII.

Religion, or rather confessional policies, are a key feature in a third set of chapters which look at the agency of the Catholic church both in creating a distinct border identity, but also in transcending borders through the management of Catholic cults.[18] Diana Newton's chapter looks at the changing and enduring features of the veneration of Saint Cuthbert on both sides of the Anglo-Scottish border. The Counter-Reformation strategy of the Jesuits is discussed in Raingard Esser's chapter, which analyses both factors that facilitate difference and those emphasizing continuity in Upper Guelders, a quarter which became separated from the duchy of Guelders during the Eighty Years War. Her chapter analyses the different agents active in the region who either promoted the growing gap between Upper Guelders and the three northern quarters of the duchy or who highlighted enduring similarities, for instance through reference to a common past or the invocation of brotherhood and friendship. In a similar manner, Bertrand Forclaz addresses the role of the different affiliations – political, confessional or military-strategic – in two Swiss cantons and highlights the agency of the residents of Neuchâtel and Basle in the taking of sides during a turbulent period.

The historiographical background to the topics discussed here provides a mixed picture. Research into a regional agenda, which is increasingly interpreted in a transnational framework, particularly in border regions, is now well developed in the Netherlands.[19] A strong focus of this research is on identity

18 It would be interesting in this context to compare the role of the Catholic church with Protestant initiatives. The lack of a chapter in this volume on such Protestant initiatives is not deliberate.

19 See, for instance, the thematic issue of *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlande* 123, 3, 2008, entitled Arena: De Taaiheid van de Provincie, especially the contributions by Maarten Duijvendak, Ligamenten van de Staat? Over regionale identiteit en taaiheid van de provincies, 342–53; and Ad Knotter, Limburg bestaat niet, 354–63.

and memory politics in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as conducted by the Social-History Centre at the University of Maastricht. The interdisciplinary Centre for Border Studies at the Radbout University, Nijmegen, focuses on EU policies and contemporary migration issues. Research is currently also being conducted on border identities and the role of border regions at an earlier date in the Low Countries. That men and women on the fringes of the Dutch Republic might have experienced quite differently the rise of the Netherlands to one of the most powerful and prosperous states in early modern Europe, and might have developed a canon of memorable events which differed from those in the maritime provinces, is now widely acknowledged; but here much more work needs to be done.[20] Border identities in the early modern Swiss Confederation have to date not attracted much scholarship, which is all the more surprising since the Confederation itself provides an ideal laboratory for regional research – for instance, by a comparison between internal and external borders of the various cantons. French border regions are, by contrast, well researched, not least as a reaction to the paradigm of a strong, precociously centralized state.[21] This research is in many ways still inspired by Peter Sahlins's still much-quoted study on the Pyrenees.[22] In an Anglo-Scottish context there is likewise a strong tradition of Border Studies. Recent collaborative projects such as The Breaking of Britain extend to the high Middle Ages, an approach which can be traced back at least as far as the beginnings of academic history.[23] As regards regions and regional identity, however, almost the only part of England to have attracted a sustained tradition of historical studies is 'the north parts'.[24] Even more

20 See, for instance, Raingard Esser, *The Politics of Memory: The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-century Low Countries*, Leiden, 2012.

21 Rainer Babel/Jean-Marie Moeglin (eds.), *Identité nationale et conscience régionale en France et en Allemagne du Moyen Age à l'époque moderne*, Sigmaringen, 1996. More recent research on border regions and on relations between centre and periphery is discussed in Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire de France des regions. La périphérie française, des origins à nos jours*, Paris, 2001, 2005.

22 Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries : The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, Berkeley, CA, 1989.

23 The Breaking of Britain: cross border society and Scottish independence 1216–1314, www.breakingofbritain.ac.uk/; D.L.W. Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier: A History of the Borders During the Reign of Elizabeth*, Oxford, 1928.

24 Mark Sandford, English regionalism through the looking glass: perspectives on the English question from the North-East and Cornwall, in Bernard Crick (ed.), *National Identities: The Constitution of the United Kingdom*, Oxford, 1991, 77–93; Christopher Harvie, English regionalism: the dog that never barked, in: ibid., 48–61. Cf., esp., Adrian Green/A.J. Pollard (eds.), *Regional Identities in North-east England, 1300–2000*, Woodbridge, 2007; and the work of The North-East England History Institute (www.neehi.co.uk/).

problematic are Border Studies in Ireland. The modern border created by partition has been studied extensively, and with it Ulster as a frontier province; but historical ties with the medieval frontier or with the Tudor frontier region of the English Pale, whose political-military role disappeared at the same time as that of the Anglo-Scottish border, have not been closely investigated.[25]

In summary, scholarship on early modern frontier regions has developed rather unevenly across Europe. At the same time, however, border studies as a field of comparative historical research has in recent years become increasingly popular, attesting perhaps to a new understanding of frontiers and an impatience with perceptions of borders as simple markers of national histories.[26] Almost everywhere, the existence of these borders and frontiers has also in different ways coloured the societies, institutions and economy of the regions through which they ran. Borders do not exist in isolation, and the following chapters outline and explore some of the different forms of interaction between border and region. In this way, the present volume on the early modern frontier regions of Europe aims to extend and enrich border studies as a field of comparative historical research.

25 The Centre for Cross Border Studies (see www.crossborder.ie/) is supported by the EU's European Regional Development Fund; but almost the only study which looks at the modern border in a long historical and geographical context is M.W. Heslinga, *The Irish Border as a Cultural Divide: A Contribution to the Study of Regionalism in the British Isles*, 3rd edn., Assen, 1979. For the ties between medieval Ulster and Northern Ireland, see Jonathan Bardon, *A History of Ulster*, revised edn., Belfast, 2005.

26 See, for instance, Ellis/Eßer, *Frontiers, Regions and Nations in Europe*.

Anna Groundwater

Renewing the Anglo-Scottish Frontier

Reassessing Early Modern Frontier Societies[1]

> By so mixing through alliance and daily conuersation, the inhabitants of euery kingdome with other, as may with time make them to grow and welde all in one: Which may easily be done betwixt these two nations, being both but one Ile of Britaine, and alreadie ioyned in vnitie of Religion and language ... the long warres and many bloodie battels betwixt these two countreys, bred a naturall and hereditarie hatred in euery of them ... the uniting and welding of them hereafter in one, by all sort of friendship, commerce, and alliance, will by the contrary produce and maintaine a naturall and inseparable vnitie of loue amongst them ... a long and happy amitie.[2]

In 1503, following the optimistic treaty of perpetual peace between Scotland and England, Margaret Tudor travelled north to cement the peace through her marriage to James IV. She was accompanied by a baggage train painted with entwined roses and thistles. This representation of the marriage, in the contracts that agreed it, and on the stained glass of the new windows that framed the happy couple's progress up Edinburgh's High Street, was to portray the intended alliance between two previously hostile kingdoms. In one image both the rose and the thistle grew out of the same stem.[3] Less than ten years later the imagery lay torn on the fields of Flodden. A hundred years later, however, the ultimate product of this marital union, James VI, was to succeed peacefully to the English throne, uniting the two kingdoms, as he frequently claimed, in his own body. But within four years James's plans for a fuller political union lay dead in the water, thrown out by the English parliaments of 1604 and 1607. The fundamental disagreement was visualised in the designs for the Union flag;

1 Versions of this chapter were given at the Fifteenth Century conference at Aberystwyth, Manchester Metropolitan University, the University of Aberdeen and the Frontier Regions of Early Modern Europe conference at the University of Galway. Many thanks are due to Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Esser for their helpful suggestions and, most of all, their kindly encouragement in seeing this paper revised at last into print.

2 *Basilikon Doron*, in James VI and I, *Political writings*, ed. Johan P. Sommerville, Cambridge, 1994, 59.

3 An account of Princess Margaret's progress to Scotland and marriage to James IV by John Yonge, Somerset Herald (College of Arms, MS 1 M.13, ff.76–115v; printed in John Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne, London 1774, vol. 4, 265–300); Treaty of perpetual peace between England and Scotland, Richmond, 24 Jan. 1501/2. NRS, SP6/31.

the rejection of the superimposition or quartering of the St Andrew's Cross on that of St George demonstrated the political tensions between two separate kingdoms, each jostling to secure its status within an uncomfortable Union.[4]

In seeking to understand some of these tensions, events in the Anglo-Scottish Borders provide an illuminative example of the difficulties that the Stewart kings of England and Scotland were to experience in managing their new composite kingdom. Indeed the Middle Shires, as James VI and I rechristened the cross-border area, were intended to be an exemplar of the benefits of the Union. He had written of his belief in the likely success of this in *Basilikon Doron*.[5] Harmonious cooperation between officials on both sides of the border was supposed to replace the fractious relations of the past, to produce a region where all dissimilarities were removed and orderly peace prevailed. The frontier would disappear overnight. Such hopes are replicated in the recent historiography of the Anglo-Scottish Borders, which has tended to stress the commonalities that existed between the English and Scottish border shires, cross-border interaction and a shared frontier mentality, downplaying the significance of the old frontier.[6] It is current to think of this frontier, like others, as a zone rather than as a defined or dividing borderline. And there is no denying that such cross-border similarities existed. But I wonder if this recent work is in danger of establishing too simplistic a characterisation of frontiers?

In a wider arena too, the recent historiography of sixteenth-century European frontiers rightly emphasizes the permeability of artificially imposed political and administrational demarcation lines, warning that contemporarily the notion of a sharply defined nation state was yet in its infancy.[7] Instead of borderlines, or even border regions, the communal spaces of frontier societies are studied, in which commonalities between peoples either side of a frontier have been highlighted. This concept of cross-border societies has helped us to understand the experience of those that lived there.

4 Bruce Galloway, *The Union of Scotland and England, 1603 to 1608*, Edinburgh, 1986, 82–4, Appendix. pt I and II.

5 James, *Political Writings*, 25.

6 Maureen M. Meikle, *A British Frontier? Lairds and Gentlemen in the Eastern Borders, 1540–1603*, East Linton, 2004, 3–5, 266–73, 278–9; Diana Newton, *North-east England, 1569–1625: Governance, Culture and Identity*, Woodbridge, 2006; Patricia Bradley, Social banditry on the Anglo-Scottish border during the late Middle Ages, in: *Scotia*, xii, 1988.

7 Steven G. Ellis/Raingard Esser, Introduction: Early Modern Frontiers in Comparative Context, in: Ellis/Esser, eds., *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500–1850*, Hanover, 2006, 9–20, at 12–13, 20; Mark Greengrass, *Conquest and Coalescence: The Shaping of the Modern State in Early Modern Europe*, London, 1991, 1–24, at 3.

Several problems emerge, however, with a perspective that focuses on cross-border connections when considering the Anglo-Scottish frontier. It has, firstly, obscured the significant similarities that Scottish borderers shared with other Scotsmen. Secondly, it has underpinned the traditional over-differentiation between Scottish borderers and lowlanders, and a misunderstanding of the Borders region as somehow peripheral. Thirdly, it has led to an overly homogeneous portrayal of Scottish borderers let alone cross-border society. Fourthly any differences between Scottish and English borderers have been underplayed; and finally, therefore, that the significance of the division that the borderline represented has been under-estimated.

It will be suggested here that Scottish borderers, whilst some intermarried or hunted with English borderers, were connected into and participated in the political and religious life of Scotland, in a similar way to those Scotsmen living closer to the notional centre of governmental power in Edinburgh. Recent work on regional government in both England and Scotland has eroded the concept of government by the centre of a locality, provincial elites often acting as governmental agents in both.[8] When in the sixteenth century Scotland underwent an intensification of government, it was felt in the Borders as much as elsewhere. The significance of this work needs to be incorporated into studies that necessarily differentiate Scottish border society from the rest of Scotland. Whilst government in the Borders had an extra layer of border-specific laws and officials that differentiated this region from the lowlands, it was also affected by the governmental processes taking place throughout the Scottish kingdom.[9] The government that Scottish borderers interacted with was Scottish, whether at parish, shire, march or the highest levels. These connections compel a reframing of our mental mapping of the Scottish Borders region, from its placing at the kingdom's edge to one in which its proximity to Edinburgh, a day's ride away, is more evident.

It will further be suggested that the Scottish experience was perhaps different from some of the more shifting and nebulous frontiers within continental Europe, on which much of the recent historiography of frontiers has been based. The fluidity of territorial demarcations – in the form of the 1,000 polities of fourteenth-century Europe that coalesced into around 350 by 1789

8 Julian G. Goodare, *State and Society in Early Modern Scotland*, Oxford, 1999; *The Government of Scotland*, Oxford, 2004, especially ch. 5.

9 Anna Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March: Power, Kinship, Allegiance*, Woodbridge, 2010, especially chs 6 and 7.

– contrasts with the delineation of a boundary line dividing the Anglo-Scottish Borders that was relatively unchallenged since the mid-thirteenth century.[10] The acknowledgment of this interface, combined with the effects of intermittently overt and usually latent hostile Anglo-Scottish relations, had led to the gradual emergence of a sense of national consciousness in much of Scotland. In addition, the Scottish reformation of 1560 was to reinforce the connections between the borderers and lowlanders in a tightening ecclesiastical network of kirk sessions, presbyteries and regional synods, focused on a General Assembly of a Protestant kirk that was defiantly Scottish.[11] The inhabitants of Roxburghshire may have been borderers, but they were Scottish borderers. A line needs to be put back into the frontier.

Much recent work on borders and frontier zones has come out of studies of continental Europe, where shifting boundaries and overlapping jurisdictions proliferated as new kingdoms and principalities emerged. Understanding frontiers as zones helped to make sense of territorial demarcations that cut across ancient jurisdictions, landholdings and the societies that inhabited these areas. As Mark Greengrass observes, regions once sharing a political identity, culture and economy were divided by their integration into opposing states. As a result, frontiers 'became zones of overlapping jurisdictions rather than precisely demarcated and delimited boundary lines'. Moreover, our understanding today of a frontier line of demarcation should not be retrospectively applied to something that was more permeable, and indeed some kings deliberately avoided the specification of territorial boundaries where they were difficult to define or enforce.[12] For example, as Gunter Vogler shows, though the Treaty of the Pyrenees of 1659 recognized these mountains as a natural boundary between France and Spain, they were not actually declared a boundary until 1795, and not precisely marked until as late as 1868.[13] Ellis and Esser rightly warn against the distorting effect of the grand narratives of state formation on our appreciation of the reality of more porous early modern frontiers. The 'idea of national boundaries was a relative newcomer which was based on the rise of the nation-state' in Europe.[14] And for Vogler, the absence of national borders in sixteenth-century

10 Greengrass, *Conquest and Coalescence*, 1–2.
11 Alan R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk 1567–1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy*, Aldershot, 1998, 103–4, 180, 184; Margo Todd, *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*, New Haven and London, 2002.
12 Greengrass, *Conquest and coalescence*, 402–403, 405, 411–12, 1–3, quote at 2.
13 Gunter Vogler, Borders and boundaries in early modern Europe: problems and possibilities, in: Ellis/Eßer, *Frontiers and the Writing of History*, 21–38, at 31.
14 Ellis/Eßer, Introduction: Early Modern Frontiers, 13.

maps is telling, the first mapping of the Holy Roman Empire's borders only loosely attempted in 1500.[15]

In tandem with such European studies, recent historians of the early modern British Isles have embraced the idea of cross-border regions, which to use Edward Royle's description, should be 'regarded more loosely as zones of human activity' than territorially demarcated or divided regions. Royle writes more generally of the difficulties in identifying the limits of a 'region' itself.[16] Steven Ellis's groundbreaking comparative studies of individual frontier regions have helped to substantiate such evaluations, most notably in his comparisons of the Tudor northern borderlands and those in the English Pale surrounding Dublin. For these regions he identifies some commonalities: of militarized conditions, which affected all areas of life from architecture to the honour associated with military prowess; of border-specific administration; of cross-border acculturation and intermarriage – all of which contributed to the existence of a 'marcher society' in both.[17]

The existence of marcher or frontier societies becomes more significant when they straddle an international frontier, and for historians of the Anglo-Scottish frontier in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, that frontier line diminishes in significance as a result. Thus Patricia Bradley, for example, concludes that the Anglo-Scottish border was not 'a line drawn on a map', but a 'distinct area' in which 'no distinction must or, indeed, can be made between the men who claimed allegiance to England and those who were Scottish subjects'. These 'men had far more in common with each other than with anyone else … [sharing] a similar economy, a similar dialect, and similar dislike of outside authority'.[18] Others such as Diana Newton and Maureen Meikle have written similarly, Meikle going so far as to identify an area she calls the

15 Vogler, Borders and boundaries, 28–9.

16 Edward Royle, Introduction: regions and identities, in: Royle (ed.), *Issues of Regional Identity in Honour of John Marshall*, Manchester, 1998, 1–13, at 2.

17 Ellis makes the distinction however between the nature of the frontier that divided each society, contrasting the 'continuous border line' that defined England's northern boundary with the 'more fluid and shifting' marches along the western frontier in Ireland. Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State*, Oxford, 1995, 15–16, 40–1, 47–8, 56, 61, 154–5, 254–5, quotations at 109. Ellis, Defending English Ground: Tudor Frontiers in History and Historiography, in: Ellis/Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the Writing of History*, 73–93, at 78–9.

18 Bradley, Social banditry, 29–31. Similar observations are made by Jared Sizer, Law and Disorder in the 'Middle Shires' of Great Britain, 1603–1625, PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 2001, 14–15; Goodare, *State and Society*, 218–19; and Newton, *North-east England*, 12–14, 83, 169.

Eastern Borders which encompassed the northern part of Northumberland, the East March of the Scottish Borders, and the eastern half of Roxburghshire in the Scottish Middle March. For Meikle the economic and cultural connections between English and Scottish eastern borderers changes the orientation of any borderline to that between the more cultured eastern borderers and their more rowdy western counterparts, and not along the Anglo-Scottish frontier. The porosity of the latter has led several to observe, as Newton does, that 'for much of the time, long before 1603, the borders were more apparent than real and only recognised by the native borderers when it suited them'.[19]

Such interaction was certainly a subject for complaint by many fevered English and Scottish officials. Reports of cross-border pasturing, especially by Scots in English uplands, and of illegal cross-border marriages proliferated in the later half of the 1500s, where it was seen to be detrimental to the security of both realms.[20] In the 1550s, the 'Complaynt of Scotland' lamented 'the familiarity that is betwix inglis men and scottis men in ane peace[ful] world at mercattis and conventions on the tua bordours [which] is the cause of the treason that the scottis men committis contrar their natyfe country'.[21] As late as the 1580s and 1590s, regulations against such practices were registered. Concern over the potential for strife arising from the ancient custom of hunting with friends across the border in the Cheviots led to its being banned in 1605.[22] And all borderers were subjected to increasing opprobrium from their respective governments, which by applying border-specific laws and extra levels of officialdom necessarily differentiated them from their fellow countrymen. Even after the Union of the Crowns, the appointment of the Middle Shires commissioners to conduct a persistent pacification of crime continued to set this new cross-border region apart. When these differences were combined with the militarization of society necessitated prior to 1603 by the defence of the border, historians have perfectly reasonably identified the development of a 'frontier mentality'.[23] For some borderers, this included the increasing

19 Newton, *North-east England*, 83; Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, 4–5, 253, 266–70, 279–80.

20 *The Borders Papers: Calendar of Letters and Papers Relating to the Affairs of the Borders of England and Scotland* (*CBP*), ed. Joseph Bain, Edinburgh, 1894–6, 2 vols, i, nos 6. 165, 197.

21 *The Complaynt of Scotland,* c. *1550 by Robert Wedderburn*, ed. A.M. Stewart, Scottish Text Society, 1979, 83–4.

22 *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 1545–1625* (RPC), ed. John Buron and David Masson, Edinburgh, 1877–98, vii, 41–2, 601, 623, 709.

23 D.L.W. Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier: A History of the Borders During the Reign of Elizabeth I*, Oxford, 1928; Ian Rae, *The Administration of the Scottish Frontier, 1513–1603*, Edinburgh, 1966.

sense of alienation from their centre of government in the sixteenth century. They might easily have felt more in common with their fellow borderers on the other side.

Steven Ellis has written on this somewhat differently. Whilst he acknowledges that borderers were 'prepared to make opportunistic choices of identity if required', and that there were comparable marcher society characteristics between all the national borders in the British Isles, he advocates 'an interpretation of a frontier society, whose members were well aware of the legal, cultural and religious differences that defined their lives'.[24] In so doing, he distinguishes between the 'fluid and shifting' 'frontier of settlement' in the English Pale in Ireland, 'a land of many marches' (quoting Robin Frame), and the clearly demarcated political frontier on the Anglo-Scottish border, the Tweed-Solway line agreed in the Treaty of York, 1237. In Ireland there was 'no agreed frontier', and the 'idea of a continuous defended frontier was much slower to emerge' there than on the Anglo-Scottish Borders.[25] But despite this 'frontier of separation' between England and Scotland, he too observes that 'a common marcher mentality was emerging' from the fifteenth century in the Borders, which therefore need to be seen also as a 'zone of interaction'.[26]

Understanding the Anglo-Scottish border region as a zone of interaction, as much as hostility, has been crucial to our understanding of the daily experience of borderers in the sixteenth century. But the implications of this experience, at least for the Scottish Borders, need to be nuanced. Whilst Scottish borderers hunted in the Cheviots with their English friends, borderers also interacted with their fellow Scotsmen, being tied into a network of obligations to landlord, kindred and secular government, and from the 1570s to an increasingly insistent ecclesiastical hierarchy. The implications of these connections need to be factored into a more contextual portrayal of a borderer's life, and into discussions over the significance of any borderline.

One of the more notorious zones of interaction was in the cross-border, or rather border-free, Debateable Lands near Canonbie. These have long been used as an example of how the frontier was blurred or ambiguous rather than set. And certainly, the remarkable reluctance of successive English and Scottish kings to agree a frontier line through the Debateable Lands until 1551/2

24 Ellis, Introduction: Early Modern Frontiers, 17.
25 Ellis, Defending English Ground, 76–7; Robin F. Frame, Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272–1377, in: *Past and Present*, 76, 1977, 7, 32.
26 Ellis, 'Defending English Ground', 76.

certainly suggests a happiness to leave this part of the borderline at least ambiguous. But might this have been because they did not want the inherent strictures that such a line would bring, landing them with the administrative headache of responsibility for the rampaging Armstrongs and Elliots? If so, this would suggest an understanding, an acceptance of the significance of a frontier line. As Tony Goodman has concluded, there was a contemporary strength of feeling about the 'immutability' of the line set by the Treaty of York in 1237, an understanding of where it was and of its antiquity.[27] Disputes in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were more about contested pasturage rights or property boundaries, often between private landowners, than international disagreement over a frontier.

An ancient border*line* had existed as an internally and internationally understood demarcation between two separate, often hostile kingdoms. An understanding of the placing of this line survived the English pale of the fourteenth century, remaining relatively unchanged through to today. The dismissiveness currently attached to borderlines that were 'only' political, fails to recognize that such a frontier represented ways in which it *was* seen contemporarily: even if it was only held to be *significant* by kings, governments and officials, it was *understood* by all. This line was not merely an artificial construct: in real terms, it also delineated and divided administrative and judicial systems on either side of the frontier. Unlike the confusion caused by overlapping jurisdictions identified by Greengrass in Europe, the only jurisdictions that could be exercised in the Scottish Borders were Scottish.[28] This was to remain the case after the Union of the Crowns in 1603, and even within the cross-border region of the Middle Shires.

The separation of governmental systems had a substantive impact on borderers' lives. A Scottish borderer was governed by his Scottish kinsmen, his Scottish landlord, local officials, all of whom were accountable to the Scottish sheriff, warden, privy council and crown, and according to Scottish law. Scottish wardens may have met with English wardens to redress cross-border crime, but the results of these meetings were determined by each crown's policy

27 Anthony Goodman, The Anglo-Scottish marches in the fifteenth century: a frontier society?, in Roger Mason, ed., *Scotland and England, 1286–1815*, Edinburgh, 1987, 18–33, at 20; Geoffrey Barrow, The Anglo-Scottish Border, in: *Northern History*, i, 1966, 21–42.

28 Greengrass, *Conquest and Coalescence*, 3, 11. For a case study that contrasts with the division between Scottish and English administrations and jurisdictions, see Peter Partner, The Papal State: 1417–1600, in Greengrass, ed., *Conquest and Coalescence*, 25–47, especially 29–31, 33–35.

towards the other at that time. And this was to remain the case after 1603. This border was of course permeable; there was no man-made physical barrier preventing interaction. But for all that, it marked a *division* between the people that lived either side. Borderers may have chosen to ignore it when pasturing their livestock, but that does not mean they were unaware of its existence. And in order to understand why tensions may have existed after 1603 in a supposedly united kingdom, it is necessary to acknowledge the enduring significance of this ancient frontier.

Much of the recent comparative work on frontier regions rests on the assumption of a cross-border mentality or identity, occasioned by the similarities of borderers' experiences and their proximity. In the Anglo-Scottish Borders, however, whilst commonalities existed, there was also evidence of xenophobia, particularly on the part of English officials, and an awareness of the significance of the ancient hostility between the two countries. Whilst borderers might have shared certain values, certain opinions of national government, even friendships, their thinking was formed too within the political and historical contexts of their own kingdoms.

Borderers on both sides of the border produced ballads in which the value attached to honour and military prowess had formed part of the evidence for a frontier mentality. Leaving aside arguments over the historical value of ballads, if we accept such common characteristics, then we should recognize also the national allegiance displayed too in the ballads.[29] Thus when the ballad, 'Johnnie Armstrong', mourns the death of this notorious reiver and over thirty of his kinsman, during an unfortunate audience with James V in 1530, Armstrong laments,

> Scotland's heart was ne'er sae wae
> To see sae mony brave men die –
> Because they saved their countrey d
> Frae Englishmen!

Armstrong, citing his patriotism in his defence, appealed in vain to James, his ungrateful king:

> Wist England's King that I was ta'en
> O gin a blythe man he wald be!

Similarly, the Douglas fighting the Percy at Otterburn was celebrated not just in terms of what he achieved for his own family but for Scotland as well:

> The doughty Douglas bound him to ride

29 Edward J. Cowan, ed., *The Ballad in Scottish History*, East Linton, 2000.

Into England, to drive a prey ...
And he has burn'd the dales of Tyne
And part of Bambrough shire;
And three good towers on Reidswire fells
He left them all on fire.[30]

What remains constant in all of these ballads is an implicit acknowledgment of a borderline or demarcation between two different kingdoms.

This awareness had been heightened by 300 years of hostilities, which had helped to shape a sense of national consciousness in Scotland. The persistence of the ancient myths of Scottish kings emphasized the antiquity of Scotland's independence from her English neighbour; Scotsmen continued to define themselves by contrast to the English, to take pride in their defence of their kingdom's integrity.[31] But additionally by the end of the sixteenth century this identity had been further honed by the emergence of a specifically Scottish Protestant identity. Whilst James, and others, had assumed that the shared experience of a Protestant Reformation in both kingdoms would facilitate union, the entrenched differences between the two churches were to keep them apart.[32] The peculiarly Calvinist Reformation in Scotland emphasized the singularity of the Scottish people as the chosen or elect. Initially in the Scottish Borders, the kirk's coverage was patchy, but by the 1580s determined efforts were being made to plant sufficient ministers there, a process that intensified after the Union of 1603 and was complete by 1620. In doing so it not only tightened administrative links in the ecclesiastical sphere between the Borders and Edinburgh, via minister, kirk session, presbyteries in Jedburgh, Selkirk and Peebles, and the synod of Lothian and

30 Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. T.F. Henderson, Edinburgh, 1902, i, 283, 286, 356–8. James Reed, The ballad and the source: some literary reflections on the *Battle of Otterburn*, in Anthony Goodman/Anthony Tuck (eds.), *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, London, 1992, 94–123.

31 Alexander Grant, Aspects of National Consciousness in Medieval Scotland, in Claus Bjørn/Alexander Grant/Keith Stringer (eds.), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past*, Copenhagen, 1994, 68–95; Roger Mason, Scotching the brut: politics, history and national myth in sixteenth-century Britain, in Mason (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286–1815*, Edinburgh, 1987, 60–84.

32 As Jane Dawson has concluded, though Scotland's Reformation created the circumstances in which the Union of the Crowns became more likely, it did not in itself bring about union. Jane Dawson, Anglo-Scottish protestant culture and integration in sixteenth-century Britain, in Steven G. Ellis/Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725*, London and New York, 1995, 87–114, especially 87–88, 113–14.

Tweeddale,[33] it also reinforced awareness of a Scottish Protestant community of which borderers were part, which differed to that of the English. As Charles I was to find to his cost, the Scottish kirk was defiantly Scottish. He was to find too a hotbed of covenanters growing in the Borders. What generally concerned the English authorities in Northumberland and Cumberland was the residual recusancy of the Forsters, Widdringtons, Curwens et al.[34]

There were significant differences too in the types of government affecting the lives of the borderers, and in the differing attitudes of Tudor and Stewart kings towards them. Here there has been more understanding of the differences in their governments, though historically this has underestimated the effectiveness of Scottish government, allegedly undermined by its over-dependence on regional lordship. These differences were seen to be particularly pertinent to the Scottish Borders that were held to be largely outside the control of the crown. However, the recent re-evaluation of Scottish government, by such as Sandy Grant, Julian Goodare, Keith Brown and Jenny Wormald, has shown how the way in which it differed from English systems did not necessarily mean less effective government, but just different ways of doing it. Regional lordship could be used by governments to enforce crown policy and elites were largely co-operative.[35] This re-evaluation needs also to be applied to Stewart government in the Scottish Borders. Whilst successive King Jameses did not usually foist an outsider as warden into the region in the way the Tudors did, they were able to get the landed elite in the Borders to co-operate with them. By utilizing their frameworks of authority, Jameses IV to VI imposed crown policy in the Borders: but they did so with a different system of government from that existing in the English Borders, and in a similar way to the rest of their dominions.[36]

33 Records for these demonstrate an active administration from the early 1600s. National Records of Scotland (NRS), Jedburgh, CH2/198; Peebles, CH2/295; Selkirk, CH2/327; Synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, CH2/252.

34 'The state of Northumberland for religion in the principal families, by whom the multitude may safely be led in matter of religion or other action. 8 January 1606/7', *Calendar of the Cecil Papers in Hatfield House*, ed. M.S. Giuseppi, London, 1965, xi vol. xix, 1–15; Newton, *North-east England*, 123–5, 136–8; Sheldon J. Watts/Susan. J. Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland, 1586–1625*, Leicester, 1975.

35 Alexander Grant, Crown and nobility in late medieval Britain, in Mason, ed., *Scotland and England*, 34–59, at 38–9, 42, 49; Keith M. Brown, *Bloodfeud in Scotland, 1573–1625: Violence, Justice and Politics in an Early Modern Society*, Edinburgh, 1986, 218–19, 226, 234–5, 259–260; Jenny Wormald, *Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland, 1470–1625*, Edinburgh, 1981 16–17, 26, 152.

36 Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March*, esp. ch. 3.

But perhaps more significant than the differences in the secular and ecclesiastical administrations that affected the borderers were the significant commonalities that Scottish borderers shared with their fellow countrymen and the strength of the connections that tied them into the life of their kingdom. Borderers were linked into a matrix of government that in Julian Goodare's metaphor was rolling out the carpet of crown authority to the edges of Scotland.[37] Similarly, as Tony Goodman has observed for the fifteenth century, the political frontier represented by the Anglo-Scottish border 'reinforced the tendencies among the Border elites to make economic and financial ties away from the frontier, in and through the interiors of their realms'.[38] There was a similarity of experience between borderers that connected them to other Scotsmen in the lowlands, or indeed elsewhere in Scotland.

Traditionally, the Borders' geographical location on the southern edge of the kingdom has led to them being described as on the periphery of Scotland. Seeing the Borders as peripheral is problematic because the term suggests that the border areas were distanced, and thus somewhat disconnected, from the people living closer to the seat of national government in Edinburgh. Their physical location, combined with their extra border-specific layer of government, has created the impression that they were substantively different. In contrast, important mental, governmental, religious, socio-economic and interpersonal links existed between those that lived in the border wildlands and those that lived in the supposedly civilized 'lawlands'. Such connectivity was symbolized by the passes of Fala and Soutra, that allowed a horseman from Edinburgh to be in Peebles within a day, and it was facilitated by a common language and religion. These physical routes provided conduits for the transmission of government between Edinburgh and the Borders, as well as the messenger-at-arms, and judicial raid. At the same time the involvement of Scottish borderers in the life of the political nation, and the linkage of the Borders presbyteries into the wider kirk hierarchy, provided links which transcended the distance implicit in seeing the Borders as on the periphery, distanced from the 'centre'.

In particular, members of the borders elite embodied the connections between the two regions. The leader of a Borders surname might participate in

37 Julian Goodare/Michael Lynch, The Scottish state and its Borderlands, in: Julian Goodare/Michael Lynch (eds.), *The Reign of James VI*, East Linton, 1999, 186–207, at 187, 201; Goodare, *State and Society*, 214–15, 239.

38 Goodman, The Anglo-Scottish Marches, 26.

government at the highest levels, as a privy councillor or at parliament, but he would also act for the crown with a formal commission in the Borders, or within his own lands or jurisdiction. Here it is difficult to separate local from central government, the same figure often wearing at least two hats. Thus Walter Scott of Buccleuch sat occasionally on the privy council in the 1590s and early 1600s, and exercised the jurisdiction the crown gave him as Keeper of Liddesdale through his lordship of that notorious dale. Lord Home was another prime example. These elite borderers were able to exercise authority through their position at the head of socio-political structures, shaped by kinship and alliance, and dynamized by the obligations of lordship and service. In this way, most borderers were bound into a web of relationships that determined their daily existence, in common with other Scotsmen. The crown, as it did elsewhere, utilized these obligations to enforce crown policy, by making landlords and kindred leaders accountable for their dependents, at the same time as giving them offices, both at local and national level, that reinforced their local authority.[39]

Thus borderers were bound into the framework of government connecting the whole of the Scottish kingdom. For instance, the Ker kindred, one of the largest in the Borders, owed their allegiance to the various Ker leaders of Cessford, Ferniehurst and Newbattle as their landlords and kindred leaders. These leaders were repeatedly made by the crown to undertake responsibility for their dependents' actions under the general band and increasingly from the 1580s within acts of caution for specifically named kindred members.[40] In addition, the Cessford Kers acted as crown agents in the Borders as the Middle March wardens; but they also were connected into the highest levels of government through their close cousins, the Ker commendators of Newbattle, subsequent earls of Lothian, as senior councillors from 1579 to 1624, and Robert Ker of Cessford became a privy councillor too. Thus the participation of the Kers in

39 Anna Groundwater, The obligations of kinship and alliance within governance in the Scottish Borders, 1528–1625, *Canadian Journal of History*, 48, 1, 2013; Jenny Wormald, *Lords and Men in Scotland: Bonds of Manrent, 1442–1603*, Edinburgh, 1985, 1–27. For an earlier period, and specific to the Borders, see Alastair MacDonald, *Border Bloodshed: Scotland and England at War, 1369–1403*, East Linton, 2000; Michael Brown, *The Black Douglases: War and Lordship in the Late Medieval Scotland, 1300–1455*, East Linton, 1998, 23–8, 114–15. Similar findings have been made by Alison Cathcart for the central and north-eastern Highlands in *Kinship and Clientage: Highland Clanship, 1451–1609*, Leiden, 2006.

40 RPC, i, 651–3; ii, 117, 370–3, 548–9, 549–52; vi, 45–6, 435–6, 825–9. Thousands of such cautions are printed in the appendices to the main *Registers of the Privy Council* from the early 1590s to 1610.

the highest levels of government, their actions on behalf of the crown in the Borders, and the obligations that bound them and their kindreds and tenants together, connected the lowliest borderer to Edinburgh, eroding the significance of the physical distance between the two regions.

And whether a borderer liked it or not, he was also connected into a matrix of government that in the sixteenth century was increasingly binding all the Scottish regions more tightly to the crown. Historians have tended to view crown intervention in 'disorder' in the Borders in the later 1500s as reflecting a concern that was specific to that region. But Scottish borderers were also being affected, as much as any lowlander, by an intensification of government that was taking place *throughout* Scotland. During James VI's reign the numbers of people involved in public office increased by 400 per cent, this happening in the Borders as elsewhere.[41] And his crackdown on the time-honoured practice of feuding in the 1590s was not targeted only at the Borders, but at a society where violent crime was a nationwide problem.[42]

A qualification should be made to all these arguments: and that is that borderers were no more a homogeneous group than lowlanders or highlanders. Different borderers did different things, and had differing degrees of connection either within Scotland or across the border. For instance, much has been made of the significance of cross-border marital connections. Such were the general complaints about liaisons between Grahams and Fosters in the 1580s. In the Middle March, however, there is little evidence for cross-border marriages at the lairdly level, for which documentation exists. Marriage was and remained a very localized business. It is likely therefore that the marriages causing concern prior to 1603 occurred amongst the lesser socio-economic levels, for which no contracts exist. And of course, men from the higher socio-economic levels were often more integrated into the governmental processes of the kingdom. The sense of alienation identified for some would probably apply to those who were not part of these processes, who did not necessarily benefit from them. Alastair MacDonald has found similar differences in the Borders in the fourteenth century.[43]

There were also differing degrees of 'borderdom': the borderers of Peebles,

41 Goodare, *The Government of Scotland*, 216–19.
42 Brown, *Bloodfeud*, 7; Jenny Wormald, Bloodfeud, kindred and Government in early modern Scotland, *Past and Present*, lxxxvii, 1980, 54–97; Groundwater, The obligations of kinship and alliance.
43 MacDonald, *Border Bloodshed*, 237.

for example, distinguished themselves from the 'bordouris theivis and revaris' who lived closer to the frontier, and with whom they were at feud.[44] Individual borderers would have differing notions of identity. There was no simple uniform identity: a borderer, as any other Scotsman, had multiple allegiances helping to form his own view of himself. A borderer could count himself for instance an Armstrong, an inhabitant of Liddesdale and owe allegiance to Buccleuch as his lord, a Scottish borderer, a Scotsman, or indeed in the case of some Armstrongs, feel a closer affinity to his relations on the other side of the frontier.

The biggest case, however, for arguing the significance of the borderline is what happened after it was supposed to have disappeared. The apparent ease with which crime in the Anglo-Scottish Borders, or rather the Middle Shires, was suppressed after 1603 has given the impression that the border no longer exerted any influence on events either side of it.[45] Diana Newton has argued this rather differently. The insignificance of the border to Northumbrian borderers was evident, she says, in the attempts to dissolve the political border in the parliament of 1604, about which the Northumbrian representatives in parliament 'displayed a marked lack of interest'. This was 'most likely to have been for the simple reason that the borders were indeed more apparent than real, and if the concept of the border was illusory when it was an undeniable political presence before 1603, the consequences of its dissolution were correspondingly inconsequential'.[46] But whilst the Northumbrians may not have been interested in the dismantling of a political border, they and the Scotsmen across the border continued to be governed within the existing jurisdictions and by their own kingdom's laws, which continued to be divided by the Anglo-Scottish border. More than this, as events in the Middle Shires were to prove, the legal integrity that this dividing line protected was to be stoutly defended.

This was not what James VI and I had envisaged when he rode south. For James, the union was self-evident, since the kingdoms were joined both territorially and, from 1603, metaphorically within his own body, 'that Vnion which is made in my blood'. Being 'both but one Ile of Britaine', these two countries were 'compassed with one Sea, and of it selfe by nature' indivisible, since they were 'separated neither by Sea, nor great Riuer, Mountaine, nor other strength

44 *Charters and Documents Relating to the Burgh of Peebles, 1165–1710*, ed. William Chambers, Scottish Burgh Record Society, 1872, 342, 356.

45 Works on the Middle Shires include: Sizer, *Middle Shires*; Watts/Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*; Richard T. Spence, The pacification of the Cumberland Borders, 1593–1628, in: *Northern History*, xiii, 1977, 59–160.

46 Newton, *North-eastern England*, 171.

of nature, but onely by little small brookes, or demolished little walles, so as rather they were diuided in apprehension, then in effect'.[47] 'Hath God not united these two kingdoms both in Language, Religion, and similar manners?' he asked. Given that 'there is over both but *unus Rex*, so there may be in both *unus Grex* and *una Lex* [one community or faith and one law]'.[48]

But, as James was to find, the only law that English parliaments would recognize was England's own, the greater political union he sought faltering in the face of the implacable resistance to any diminution of sovereignty by members of both English and Scottish parliaments. Fears over loss of status within any union were displayed visually in the disagreement over the union flag designs in 1604. Despite the joy over a peaceful Union of the Crowns, the strength of opposition to any integration drew attention to the enduring differences between the two kingdoms – separate parliaments, privy councils, sovereignties, legal systems, churches - despite their shared monarch. The commonalities that James identified – of monarch, language and religion – were enough to secure the regnal union, but not similar enough to achieve any greater degree of union.

As James attempted to sell the idea of a more integrated union, he went to great lengths to explain the benefits it had already brought, founded on the premise that two was greater than one: 'two snowballs put together, make one the greater ... two Castle walles made in one, makes one as thicke and strong as both'.[49] He repeatedly reiterated the peace that his accession had brought, words of a king who liked to style himself 'Rex Pacificus'. And nowhere was this more true, he thought, that in the region previously most fraught, the cross-border region, the Middle Shires. In 1603 James had declared that the Borders were become 'the happie union, the very heart of the country': because they were not separated by either sea or mountain, the borderers 'cannot distinguish, nor know, or discerne their owne limits'. The Middle Shires were to be the exemplar of the benefits of the new Union, a microcosm of the new multiple monarchy, the harmonious heart of the newly unified kingdoms, 'the Nauell or Vmbilick of both Kingdomes'.[50] He intended he said to 'extinguishe as well the name, as substance of the bordouris, I meane the difference betwene thaime and other pairts of the kingdome'; 'for the doing quhairof it is necessarie that querrellis

47 19 March 1604 to the Upper House of Parliament: James, *Political Writings*, 135.
48 James, *Political Writings*, 135, 162.
49 James, *Political Writings*, 176–7.
50 James, *Political Writings*, 135, 169.

amoungst thaim be reconcyled and all straingenes betwene the nations quyte removed; that all theeves, murderers, oppressouris and vagabondis be quyte rooted out'.[51] Overnight, cross-border co-operation was supposed to replace the centuries of hostility. James's words were, however, the expression of his hopes rather than contemporary reality, since not everyone shared James's view on the indivisibility of the island. James should perhaps have taken into account the enduring effects of hostility, the separate nature of two sovereign kingdoms, and the differences between them.

This was particularly the case with the division between their legal systems. Disputes at national level over the integrity of each system did not provide a cohesive legal framework on which to base judicial action, let alone harmonious co-operation, within the Middle Shires. As Sir Edward Coke, the English attorney put it in 1606, 'it will not appear which will be the middle shires, for a jury of England and Scotland cannot yet join. And for many respects I think that such a proviso would be very offensive'.[52] Sir Francis Bacon's suggestion for an Anglo-Scottish court at Berwick to try cases from either side of the border made no headway.[53] In 1605, anxious to speed up the pacification, James appointed an English and a Scottish commission of five officials, each with an armed guard, and extensive judicial powers: 'severe [and] indifferent justice [should] be ministered upon all offenders and that no factions be fostered among thaime by the partialitie of thaire judges'.[54] But whilst they were supposed to work together, they remained separate to each kingdom, each country's jurisdictions jealously guarded. At no time throughout the pacification did anyone, other than James and his chief henchman the Earl of Dunbar, ever have jurisdiction on both sides of the border.

Disputes raged over James's attempts to enforce the remanding of fugitives for trial in the country of their offence which was intended to 'quench all the spark of ony hope of escape from punishment'.[55] Members of the Northumbrian gentry, in particular, strongly resisted measures that might interfere with their own jurisdictions, or even leave them open to prosecution.[56] Despite the

51 HMC), *Salisbury*, xvi, 405.
52 HMC, *Salisbury*, xviii, 186–7.
53 Brian P. Levack, *The Formation of the British State: England, Scotland, and the Union, 1603–1707*, Oxford, 1987, 75.
54 RPC, vii, 701–4; HMC *Salisbury*, xvi, 405.
55 RPC, vii, 706–7.
56 Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, 142, 148, 151, 155.

king's best efforts, the English parliament of 1607 refused to pass any legislation on remanding. It was not until the 1610 parliament that James succeeded in getting remanding passed, though its ratification was dependent on the Scottish parliament agreeing a reciprocal act. This finally happened in 1612, but problems associated with remanding continued.[57] The Earl of Buccleuch was having difficulties as late as the early 1620s to get an English fugitive extradited.[58] The borderline remained an institutionalized frontier, a demarcation of the limits of administration and jurisdiction.

If the legal situation was fraught, so too were relations between the officials of either side. The relieved afterglow of a peaceful succession deteriorated as early as 1605. That July the Scottish commissioner Seton of Kylesmure, whilst protesting friendship, was writing snidely to the English commissioner Sir Wilfrid Lawson that 'though you have wealth, we have liberality. Knightships with you are common merchandise, with us they are rewards of virtue'. There was 'vehement disputation' between both sides over courts held by the Scottish commissioners at Hawick that August when official English observers there, where they were judicially powerless, complained that the Scottish commissioners 'made no bones to kill such fugitives or felons as made resistance'. The separate jurisdictions were having a divisive effect on the execution of the pacification, and this was exacerbated by the continuation of the mutual distrust established over the previous centuries. In December, the Scots complained to the English commissioners that they should search the farms on their side more carefully 'for we are informed that the fugitives have their maintenance there, dreading our side more than their own'. The captain of the Scottish border guard Sir William Cranstoun's stinging reproach to the English commissioners in March 1606 exemplified the difficult relations: 'If you will needs be commanders, I desire that your discretion may appear as well as your authority. Think not that my body can be everywhere to do all your services.'[59]

Despite such tensions, the pacification of crime appears to have been relatively successful as commissioners on both sides targeted miscreants within their own jurisdictions and were well rewarded for their efforts. But the concern over the Middle Shires at privy council level remained in both England and Scotland well after the *c.*1610 watershed most usually cited as the settling of the

57 *The Records of the Parliaments of Scotland to 1707*, ed. Keith Brown et al., St Andrews 2007–09; www.rps.ac.uk (RPS), 1612/10/9 (accessed 18 November 2012).

58 RPC, xi, 290; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1603–1704* (*CSP Dom*), ed. Margaret Green et al., London, 1856–1947, *1623–1625*, 38, 82.

59 HMC, *The Manuscripts of Lord Muncaster*, London 1885, 236, 242–4, 250–1.

Borders.[60] There was a flurry of related ordinances in 1617 and 1618, probably stimulated by James's first and only return to Scotland in 1617. These led to the creation of an unwieldy large 'conjunct commission' which attempted again to join commissioners from either side in a coordinated effort to root out the last malefactors, but which failed in the face of its continued institutionalization of the borderline in the separate jurisdictions.[61] Tensions in the cross-border region were as pronounced as ever, exacerbated by strained relations amongst commissioners and xenophobic hostility. In 1617, the Scottish council felt it necessary to threaten the death penalty for anyone harming Englishmen in the King's company on his forthcoming journey to Scotland. In 1621, a letter from a Scottish commissioner criticized the failure of his English counterparts whilst praising Scottish efforts, which were 'so active and vigilant that the thieves fly to England'.[62] The final years of James's reign continued to be beset with cross-border altercations, one dispute outlasting his lifetime. The argument between Home of Wedderburn and Lord Walden over fishing rights on the Tweed had deteriorated into violence: 'unlawfull assemblies, ryotts, routts, and other misdemeanouris and tumults have bene raised and one of our subjectis killed', and in 1622 James ordered the meeting of Cranstoun, the Master of Jedburgh, the sheriff of Teviotdale and Home of Manderston, with the English commissioners, to settle the dispute. Whilst this was a squabble between private landowners, and not necessarily occasioned by the national frontier, that frontier defined how the arbitration was constituted, and the fears of its participants. Such mutual suspicion remained that Wedderburn asked that 'in evrie thing the commissione be conseved in equall termes for both nationes, and that what ever preveledges the English hath, we may not be depryved of the lyk'. The matter was still not resolved in 1625 when a new arbitration was ordered.[63] Despite James's persistent efforts the residual hostility of the two individual kingdoms continued to bedevil cross-border administration.

So whilst the pacification itself was largely successful in suppressing crime in the region, it was less successful in establishing harmonious cross-border relations, let alone cross-border institutions or laws. Paradoxically, the existing

60 For instance, Michael J. Braddick, *State Formation in Early Modern England, c. 1550–1700*, Cambridge, 2000, 376, 378.

61 RPC, xi, 215–18, 228–9, 288–91, 344–8, 360, 386–7; Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire*, 194–5.

62 RPC, xi, 108–9; *CSP Dom, 1611–1618*, 152.

63 RPC, xii, 746; xiii, 178–9, 565–6, 573–4, 675–6, 703–5, 722; 2nd series, i, 415–16; HMC, *Colonel David Milne Holme*, London, 1902, 90.

and separate systems of government that James had to use to prosecute the pacification only underlined the divisions between them.

Scottish commissioners only had jurisdiction within Scotland, and were accountable to the Scottish privy council. They utilized Scottish frameworks of authority that remained linked into a matrix of government in Scotland and subject to its individual processes. And even if the loyalties of the average borderer were more localized than that of their socio-economic superiors, they were still accountable to those Scottish superiors. Whilst there is certainly much evidence of cross-border interaction and similarity, these should not blind us, as they seemed to blind James, to the enduring cohesive forces, the connections and commonalities between these Scottish borderers and their fellow-countrymen that continued to bind them into the life of the Scottish kingdom. The Middle Shires as an exemplar of Union showed not only its benefits, but also the tensions within it and the enduring differences and divisions between two separate kingdoms. If anything, it reminded everyone of the continuing significance of an ancient borderline.

Christopher Maginn

‘Beyond the Pale’

Regional Government and the Tudor Conquest of Ireland

Looked at broadly, Tudor rule in Ireland can be seen to have been possessed of two periods. The first, which may be identified as running chronologically from the accession to the throne of Henry VII through the first two and a half decades or so of the reign of Henry VIII, was preservative in its ideological outlook and generally static in terms of territorial acquisition. In these years, the early Tudors augmented the essentially defensive strategy employed by their Lancastrian and Yorkist predecessors, who had sought to separate areas of English rule from areas of Irish rule, by reorganizing the counties around Dublin – the administrative and cultural centre of English Ireland – into a well-defined region known as the ‘English Pale’ – the ‘lost’ English region described by Steven G. Ellis in Chapter 3. The second period, which stretched from the 1530s until the death in 1603 of Elizabeth I, differed sharply from the first, characterized as it was by political and cultural engagement and, above all, territorial acquisition: it witnessed the steady extension of English rule beyond the early Tudor Pale to create a unified kingdom on the island devoid of frontiers. This period, commonly referred to as the ‘Tudor’ or the ‘Elizabethan conquest’ of Ireland, is most typically presented by historians in national, rather than in regional, terms: the later Tudors, and Elizabeth in particular, presided over the (ultimately violent) integration of the kingdom of Ireland into the Tudor state. But, as Gerald Power demonstrates in Chapter 4, the English Pale remained a distinct cultural and economic region of Ireland throughout the sixteenth century. The continued existence in Ireland of an entity which existed in socio-economic terms above the local level – that is, the shire – and beneath the national level of the kingdom leads us naturally to ask whether other regions with a distinct regional identity survived in the rest of Ireland during a period marked by the rapid expansion of royal authority.

It will be argued here, however, that in Elizabethan Ireland precisely the opposite occurred: the Tudor state deliberately created administrative regions as a means of aiding the spread of English rule. The Tudors, beginning with Henry VIII, were forced to approach the task of the extending of English rule in Ireland beyond the Pale, and the governing of the country more generally, in

regional terms. The continued existence into the Tudor period of the historic Irish division of Ireland into provinces, *cúigí* in Irish, which were much larger in size than the typical English county, gave Tudor policy-makers the ready-made geographic parameters around which to base their plans for regional government.[1] The most tangible manifestations of regionalism in later Tudor thinking about Ireland were, of course, the establishment in Queen Elizabeth's reign of regional councils, headed by presidents, in the western and southern provinces of Connaught and Munster; a third council, intended for Ulster in the north, the last province to be brought within the administrative framework of the Tudor kingdom of Ireland, never materialized. Historians have long acknowledged the importance of these state-sponsored councils, but they have, perhaps, placed too little emphasis on their origins and development, preferring instead to concentrate on their operation and the pronounced military character which these institutions came to display in Ireland.[2] What follows here will suggest that the emergence of regional government in Ireland was the Tudor state's response to both the unprecedented political and cultural engagement and the territorial acquisition which defined the Anglo-Irish relationship in the later Tudor period. The regional council, it will be shown, was a traditional English response to a very new set of challenges, but it was an institution which proved malleable enough to adapt to conditions in Ireland. In the end, the regional councils became bulwarks of English authority in Ireland which outlasted the Tudor dynasty.

There is much about Elizabethan Ireland that may be seen as innovative and forward-looking. It has been argued that during these years a modern form of English colonialism, which would later be applied in other parts of the world, began to take shape. In this interpretation of Irish history, the outlines of the modern Anglo-Irish relationship and the paradigm for British colonialism – and the structures for government that underpinned it – were becoming evident in

1 *Cúige* literally translates into English as 'a fifth part'. This gives some indication that, in addition to the four provinces of Leinster, Munster, Connaught and Ulster, Meath, in the centre of Ireland, was once regarded by the Irish as a province in its own right. Meath, however, was seized by servants of the English crown in the twelfth century and was subsequently made into an English shire more or less coterminous with the old Irish province. A more ancient division of Ireland was the conception of the island as consisting of a southern and a northern half: *Leath Mogha* (Mug's Half) and *Leath Chuinn* (Conn's Half) respectively.

2 But see D.J. Kennedy, The presidency of Munster under Elizabeth I and James I, MA dissertation, University College Cork, 1973; Nicholas Canny, *The Elizabethan Conquest of Ireland: A Pattern Established, 1565–1576*, Hassocks, 1976, Chapter 5.

Tudor rule as it spread through Ireland.[3] But it is important to remember the degree to which the Elizabethans looked to the past to guide their thinking. For them, and for all early modern people for that matter, innovation was a dangerous thing – better to ground one's actions and thoughts in the tried and trusted actions of an earlier age than to risk upsetting the natural order of things by attempting something new and unhistorical. The appearance in Elizabeth's reign of regional councils in Connaught, in 1569, and in Munster, in 1570, offer examples of what looks very much like Elizabethan innovation, the cornerstones of a new conquest, but which were rather the Elizabethan version of an English institution of some antiquity. Historians have frequently drawn attention to the fact that the Irish councils were modelled on those which had been erected in Wales and the far north of England in the 1470s – councils which the Tudors refashioned as a means of strengthening the crown's judicial and administrative authority in regions which the crown deemed distant and unruly.[4] But though the Munster and Connaught councils appear to be little more than Irish manifestations of English regional institutions their creation was not necessarily a part of a wider strategy to govern the Tudor state regionally. Rather they were a response by a government desperate to address a range of uniquely Irish problems through what was held up as a familiar institutional framework.

The first known suggestion to erect a regional council in Ireland came amid the many schemes for the reform of the lordship which were rising in number in the years before the great rebellion against the crown of the Earl of Kildare in 1534.[5] In a reform treatise written for Henry VIII in 1533, Walter Cowley, an Englishman of Irish birth, identified the provision of English justice to the king's subjects living beyond the Pale in the south – in counties Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Cork and Limerick – as a crucial first step toward stamp-

3 See Canny, *Elizabethan Conquest*; ibid., *Making Ireland British, 1580–1650*, Oxford, 2001; and more recently Joe Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, Cambridge, 2011.

4 See, for example, Ciaran Brady, Court, castle and country: the framework of government in Tudor Ireland, in: Ciaran Brady/Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers: The Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1534–1641*, Dublin, 1986, 39–40; S.G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447–1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule*, London, 1998, 171. For the councils in England, see Caroline Skeel, *The Council in the Marches of Wales*, London, 1904; Penry Williams, *The Council in the Marches of Wales under Elizabeth I*, Cardiff, 1958; Rachel Reid, *King's Council in the North*, London, 1921.

5 It has been suggested that regional councils in Ireland were first proposed in the 1550s by Thomas Cusack: Hiram Morgan, Provincial Presidencies, in: S.J. Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, Oxford, 2nd edition, 2003, 492.

ing out illegal impositions like the much-maligned custom of billeting troops on the country known as 'coign and livery'.[6] He claimed that English subjects from these remote counties who sought justice at the central courts located in Dublin had little recourse other than to travel there overland and were 'daily ... robbyd, takyn prysoners, and other slayne by the Irishrie'. 'For redresse therof', he continued, 'it were necessarie that dyvers in that parties were appoyntid as the Kinges Counsaile, and oon of theym to be President … to debate then for the common weal, and the defence of the Kinges subjects, and to redres complayntes and mysorders'.[7] Nothing came of the proposed council for the south – the outbreak of the Kildare rebellion in 1534 and the crown's struggle in the years which followed to find an alternative to Kildare rule dominated the government's thinking about Ireland. It was not until the early 1540s, and as part of a wider policy which saw Henry VIII made king of Ireland and efforts begun to integrate the leaders of the Irish polity into the Tudor state, that thoughts returned to establishing regional government. Sir Anthony St Leger, the lord deputy, issued ordinances in 1541 for the reform of the inhabitants of Munster and Connaught, who were not 'yet so acquainted with [English] laws'. He granted commissions to local noblemen to oversee the operation of English law and a range of other matters on the crown's behalf in the south and west.[8] Little progress appears to have been made in the west, but, as will be discussed below, the commissioners began operating in Munster. So, in 1546, the Irish Privy Council suggested that a president advised by four councillors, and with the service of a secretary, should be appointed for Munster and based at Limerick 'with like instructions, as the Presidents of like counsells here in England have'. Though no council was created, King Henry supported the establishment of a Munster council, leading to some speculation over the identity of its president: the archbishop of Cashel was originally proposed, but it was later rumoured that Sir Francis Bryan would take up the office. Bryan, Henry VIII's long-time companion – the roguish dissolute whom Thomas Cromwell famously dubbed

6 *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 11 vols, London, 1830–52, ii, 173. The treatise is anonymous, but its author reveals that the piece was penned in England and that he was born in Ireland, though he was also keen to point out that his father was born in England. Walter Cowley, a Kilkenny gentleman whose father, Robert Cowley, was indeed born in England, was known to have been in England in 1532–33, making him the likely author of the treatise: Terry Galvin, Walter Cowley, in: James McGuire and James Quinn (eds.), *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, Cambridge, 2010.

7 Ibid.

8 Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, vol. 603, 23^{v}–5, 28–30^{v}.

the 'Vicar of Hell' – had lately wed Joan Butler, dowager countess of Ormond and daughter of the Munster-based Earl of Desmond.[9]

Yet by the time of the old king's death the crown's priorities in Ireland were changing. Ireland was now a kingdom with a Tudor sovereign committed to governing the entire island and all of its inhabitants as English subjects. There was an immediacy which Henry's break from Rome brought to the Anglo-Irish relationship: no longer could Ireland be neglected as a loosely associated part of the English state in a Europe rapidly polarizing along religious lines. The geographic area subject to royal authority had also increased since the early 1530s. An echo of the reach of Tudor rule in Ireland may be heard even among the Irish annals, which seldom offer comment on the state of English rule in Ireland. In 1547 the annalists remarked that 'no one dared' to succour O'Connor or O'More, two Leinster chiefs who had borne the brunt of recent English expansion in the midlands, because 'the power and jurisdiction of the English ["Saxoibh"] prevailed so much'.[10] The Edwardian regime thus inherited a kingdom in which the area under English rule had expanded and was now poised to move into predominately Irish districts in the west and north. The new lord deputy, Sir Edward Bellingham, a soldier and a member of Edward's Privy Council, had begun an aggressive campaign of constructing forts and installing garrisons beyond the traditional frontiers separating English areas from Irish areas. It was in this context that Walter Cowley, by then the surveyor-general, again advanced the idea of a regional council, but he modified his earlier suggestion to bring it into line with the crown's new priorities. In a letter to Bellingham, written in early 1549, Cowley praised the deputy's efforts: 'yo[u] have began thinges that arr to all mens wittes in this realme wondres … yo[u] have evin alrede dowblid the kinges pocessions, power, obedience & subiettes in this realme'.[11] What was needed now, Cowley explained, was not only a council to cater to the English population of Munster but also 'to have a president & counsell to be in continuell progressse in Ullister and Con[n]aght & to devise lawes ordres and devises for plantinge of civilite and obedience'. In this way, the king would have 'a power … in eache quarter' of Ireland.

9 Minute of Council, with King's comments, 25 September 1546, The National Archives, State Papers (hereafter TNA, SP) 60/12/48; Matthew King to William Wyse, 5 September 1548, TNA, SP 61/1/89. For Francis Bryan, see Susan Brigden, Francis Bryan, in: H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004.

10 *Annála Ríoghachta Éireann: Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest Period to the Year 1616*, ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols, Dublin, 1851, *sub anno* 1547.

11 Walter Cowley to Bellingham, 25 January 1549, TNA, SP 61/2/12, fo. 24.

Cowley's suggestions soon found their way into official Edwardian policy for Ireland. The erection of two councils in the 'ii remotest p[ar]tes' of the kingdom, 'the one in the west and the other in the north', formed part of the instructions for government sent in late 1551 by the king and his council.[12] Thomas Cusack, a Palesman and an influential privy councillor of long experience, threw his weight behind the erection of regional government. He saw the installation of presidents presiding over regional councils in Munster, Connaught and Ulster as the means to complete Ireland's reform which was least likely to require the exertion of military force.[13]

But just as the crown was coming to accept the speedy erection of regional councils in Connaught and Ulster as keys to Ireland's reform some observers outside of government were attempting to focus royal policy more exclusively on English regions. Edward and Thomas Walshe argued in separate papers written in 1552 that the west and the north had not been shired, were largely devoid of Englishmen and so did not yet warrant a layer of regional government. For Edward Walshe, presidents and councils were necessary in Leinster and Munster where there were long-established English shires and substantial populations of Englishmen capable of receiving and availing themselves of English justice. Thomas Walshe echoed the need for regional government in the south and east, but placed greater emphasis on seeing a Munster council established. He cast aside the 'opinion' held by some 'that it is necessary for the setting forth of justice in Irlande to have foure presidentes appoynted in foure severell p[ar]tes of that realme'. He reckoned that a president and council functioning in the south, armed with a special commission to enquire into the various forms of landholding and the possession of ecclesiastical benefices in the province, would discover for the crown an annual sum of £10,000 in owed rents and other spiritual and feudal dues.[14] Both papers cautioned the govern-

12 King's Instructions to Croft, November 1551, TNA, SP 61/3/73, fos 211–12. Sir James Croft, then the lord deputy of Ireland, had pointed to the need for the 'setting' of councils in the west and north two months earlier: Instructions to Mr Wood to be declared to the Privy Council, 29 September 1551, TNA, SP 61/3/54.

13 Copy of Thomas Cusack's Book on the Present State of Ireland sent to Northumberland, 8 May 1552, TNA, SP 61/4/43, fo. 144. See also note 5.

14 Edward Walshe's 'Conjectures', May 1552, TNA, SP 61/4/44; Thomas Walshe's Report on the State of Ireland, December 1552, TNA, SP 61/4/72. I have accepted Thomas Walshe's authorship of the 'report'; however the document raises several problems. H.C. Hamilton, the nineteenth-century editor of the *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland*, attributed the document to him, though the manuscript itself reveals next to nothing about the identity of its author. A further source of confusion arises from the

ment against overreaching itself by rushing regional government into the west and north – Thomas Walshe saw the Privy Council's tendency to 'embrac to[o] moche' as an obstacle to Ireland's reform. Indeed by the end of Edward's reign, despite years of massive expenditure on Ireland, royal authority was only lightly felt in Connaught, and hardly at all in Ulster. This kind of spending was not to continue: Queen Mary, and Elizabeth after her, shrank from the cost which financing regional government in Ireland would entail.

Still, the crown was by then committed to governing the entire island and had accepted in principle that regional governments would have to be created if Tudor rule was to be extended throughout the kingdom.[15] The need for regional government thus continued to feature prominently in the several reform treatises written in the later 1550s and early 1560s which sought to influence royal policy in Ireland. Some, like the book written in the last days of Mary's reign, pressed for the establishment of four presidencies, its anonymous author went so far as to list some of the leading lights at the English court – Ambrose Dudley, the Earl of Warwick; William, Lord Grey de Wilton; Thomas Radcliffe, the Earl of Sussex; and Sir Henry Sidney – as the would-be presidents of Munster, Connaught, Ulster and Leinster, respectively. Another tract, known to have been the work of a Palesman, argued for three presidencies – he deemed the east to be 'civil enough already' on account of the existence of the English Pale and its nearness to England.[16] A proposal written early in Elizabeth's reign envisaged four Irish-based earls, all of them ethnically English, serving as presidents: Kildare (Fitzgerald) with authority in Ulster (on account of his inheritance there); Clanrickard (Burke) with authority in the west; Desmond (Fitzgerald) with authority in the south; and Ormond (Butler) with authority in the dis-

fact that part of the same document, some of which is quoted above, is appended to an oft-cited copy of Thomas Cusack's well-known book on the Present State of Ireland which is preserved among the Carew Manuscripts at Lambeth Palace, vol. 611, fo. 112. There is another much longer (and a seemingly later) copy of Walshe's 'report', in which he provides more detailed information on the provision of a president for Munster, including a schematic drawing of a courtroom and the president's proposed circuit through the province; but in this version the criticism of the privy council is absent: British Library, Additional MSS 48015, fos 259–265.

15 Instructions from Queen Mary to Lord Deputy St Leger, October 1553, TNA, SP 62/1/2, fo. 7; Memoranda, 6 June 1562, TNA, SP 63/6/18; Lambeth Palace Library, Carew MSS, Vol. 628, 94.

16 Book of the waste and decay of the Pale, 13 November 1558, TNA, SP 62/2/77; Brendan Bradshaw, A treatise for the reform of Ireland, in: *The Irish Jurist*, 16, 2, 1981, 299–315.

tricts round Kilkenny which straddled south Leinster and north Munster.[17] This question as to whether two, or three, or indeed four presidencies should be erected in Ireland was emblematic of the fundamental shift in the Anglo-Irish relationship which had occurred since the reign of Henry VIII. Munster might well be regarded as a region which was home to a substantial English population and which at one time was subject to English laws; but such a view was more difficult to sustain for Connaught which contained only scattered English settlements, and more difficult still for most of Ulster which had only military outposts in the north-east. And even in Munster there were both Irish districts (such as that occupied by the MacCarthys, where English law and government had never been observed) and districts possessed of English inhabitants (like the Fitzmaurices of north Kerry) who had long since ceased to recognize English law or obey royal authority. The commitment to establish regional government in the predominantly Irish districts of the west and north, or indeed in Munster in the south, thus implicitly changed the function of the council from a hub of English justice to an agent of political and indeed cultural expansion.

Yet in Munster a primitive form of regional government had already begun to operate long before Elizabeth's accession. Here, the newly reconciled thirteenth Earl of Desmond, James FitzJohn Fitzgerald, had emerged as a chief ally of the crown. Beginning in 1541 he and other leading English noblemen and gentlemen had been given commissions to handle a range of matters in the south, including the enforcement of the crown's religious policy, the arbitration of disputes and the dispensation of justice.[18] For the crown, this 'proto-presidential' council was a cheaper alternative than an officially constituted regional council. It was also effective: Desmond, who held a palatinate jurisdiction in Kerry and was the leader of a historically recalcitrant quasi-feudal interest in the south, embraced his role in regional government with the result that English rule in Munster was greatly strengthened in the mid-Tudor period. Securing royal recognition of his indispensability in the region was still necessary however – the possibility that the presidency might be filled by another (an outsider, or worse still a local rival) must have been a source of anxiety for Desmond. The Earl indirectly sought appointment as president in 1555 and petitioned for

17 Notes touching the government of Ireland, September 1563, TNA, SP 63/9/31.

18 Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 222; Anthony McCormack, *The Earldom of Desmond, 1463–1583: The Decline and Crisis of a Feudal Lordship*, Dublin, 2005, 83–6.

19 Propositions for services in Ireland, 1555, TNA, SP 62/1/9; Instructions from Desmond to his chaplain, 1 March 1557, TNA, SP 62/1/26.

the office outright in 1557. But Mary never moved to erect a presidency and Desmond died in 1558.[19]

Desmond's worst fears were realized when the Earl of Sussex, whom Elizabeth had appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland in 1560, sought to use the presidency and council of Munster as a means of limiting noble power in the region. In Sussex's view, the presidency was a post that only a man of English birth, untouched by the taint of faction which he believed coloured all politics in Ireland and backed by a military retinue capable of overawing most local noblemen, could occupy. He proposed three presidencies: one in Ulster based at Armagh and supported by 100 horse and 300 foot; one in Connaught based at Athlone supported by 40 horse; and one in Munster based at Limerick supported by 40 horse. For the earls of Desmond, and for other local noblemen, Sussex envisaged a secondary role: a seat on the council, nothing more.[20] This represented a clear departure from the way the presidency was typically conceived by most of the English of Ireland – the assumption that a regional magnate would necessarily play the lead role in the functioning of the regional council was shattered.[21] Historians have been quick to point to the military nature of Sussex's version of presidencies, but he saw the introduction of martial presidents as a temporary expedient: once peace and good government had been established they were to be replaced by the archbishops of Cashel and Armagh, who were to be appointed presidents of Munster and Ulster, respectively, and by the bishop of Meath, who was to be made president of Connaught. In the short term, however, Sussex recognized, and for this he must be given some credit, that the presidents would be both dispensers of justice and agents of political and cultural change in regions which contained districts which had yet to experience English government and whose inhabitants were often armed. The president of Ulster, for example, was to use 'great diligence in executing justice' and to 'see that every breach of order to be punished by fines', but Sussex noted that the president:

> must also many times lie in camp, and call for the Irish captains in Ulster to attend upon him with their risings out, and so go from place to place ... to execute justice, which shall breed the love of the people towards him, and shall keep all men in such fear of him as they will not be easily drawn into any conspiracy against him.[22]

20 Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Ireland, 1536–1588*, Cambridge, 1994, 72–112.

21 Canny, *Elizabethan conquest*, 96–7.

22 *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth*, J.S. Brewer/William Bullen (eds.), 6 vols, London, 1867–73, vol. i, no. 237 (quotation, 333).

The threat of military force would thus help to ensure both the establishment of the new institutions and the subsequent execution of English law.

The Elizabethan regime accepted that regional presidential councils as proposed by Sussex were the best way to see Tudor rule carried into the remote parts of the kingdom.[23] The majority of Ulster and Connaught remained beyond the crown's effective control and, in Munster, the wrong-headed decision on the part of Gerald Fitzgerald, the new Earl of Desmond, to renew his family's ancient feud with the neighbouring Butler earls of Ormond had done little to show the crown that a resident magnate could be trusted with regional government. Desmond's aggressive and erratic behaviour led to his detention in London, on three occasions, and at one point forced the queen to call Ormond to London for consultations on how to resolve the feud.[24] The presidency offered a possible solution to these problems, but the detail surrounding their erection could not be worked out before Sussex's recall. So, to ensure that royal authority did not entirely lapse in the south – the one region where Tudor rule had made inroads – Thomas Cusack, along with four others, was ultimately charged with the governance of Munster in February 1565. Functioning as a de facto president, Cusack dispensed justice and investigated monies owed to the crown. He also enquired as to whether a president had in fact ever been appointed in Munster – he informed the queen that it 'was not attempted nor brought to passe by no manes remembrance'.[25]

It was in these circumstances that Elizabeth finally decided to allow the formal creation of regional government in Munster. In her instructions to Henry Sidney, who had been appointed deputy in 1565, the queen advised that 'a counsell shuld be established with a president having thassistance of noblemen and bussops of the same partes, and others learnid in the lawes … and have lyke authoritee for hearing and determining of causes, as the president and counsell have heare in England by the marches of Wales'.[26] It was hoped that a similar council would be established in Connaught once the government of Munster was up and running. Sidney's plans for Ireland's reform, based though they were on the programmes for government first proposed by Sussex, were the most ambitious yet attempted by a chief governor; and he enjoyed the firm backing of William Cecil, Elizabeth's principal advisor on Ireland, and most of the Privy

23 *Carew*, i, no. 235.
24 McCormack, *Earldom of Desmond*, 88, 93–108.
25 Cusack to Queen Elizabeth, 12 January 1565, TNA, SP 63/12/10 (quotation); Commission to Cusack *et* al., 28 February 1565, TNA, SP 63/12/47.
26 Instruction for Sidney, 5 October 1565, TNA, SP 63/15/4, fo 23.

Council in England.[27] Sidney, moreover, concurrently held the presidency of the council of the marches of Wales and so brought to Ireland first-hand experience of what might be achieved through regional government. For Sidney, presidential councils, headed by Englishmen, were to serve as the institutional pillars of a reform programme which also included plans for colonization, religious reform, the dissolution of palatinate jurisdictions, negotiated settlements with Irish lords and the shiring of Irish lordships.[28] Yet the actual creation of a regional council was Elizabeth's royal prerogative alone, so the letters patent which were necessary to establish the body were to follow. Meanwhile, Sidney was instructed 'as speedely as he may' to 'consult w^t^ the counsell [the Irish Privy Council] there, what parsons in that realme meete to be appointid to those offices first to be the president. Next to be assistent. One a com[m]on lawyer. An other as a civilian. And a third to be clerke of that counsell'. Sidney was left to work out the detail: the president and councillors' wages, the number of soldiers at the president's disposal and whether (and how much) the population of Munster would pay to offset the costs for the operation of regional government.

Sometime in early 1566 Sidney nominated his client Sir Warham St Leger as president of Munster.[29] In conjunction with the Irish Privy Council, the lord deputy also devised a book for St Leger, which he sent over to England for the queen's consideration, setting out how the presidency and council was to operate and how it would be financed – these instructions were much the most detailed plans for a regional council in Ireland yet written and were to form the basis for the legal and political functioning of regional government in Ireland.[30] The presidency of Wales was held up as the model. To further the reputation and honour of the new president of Munster a sergeant-at-arms was to be appointed to bear 'the mace of the Queen's Majesty's Arms' before him as was the custom in Wales. St Leger was to be granted powers of oyer and terminer and gaol delivery 'in as large and ample maner as any suche commission or auctorytie is graunted to eny commissioners for that purpose w^th^in the realmes of England or Irelande'. Sidney claimed to see the presidential council in Munster as a means of giving the English population there what he called 'the better taste

27 Canny, *Elizabethan conquest*, Chapter 5; Christopher Maginn, *William Cecil, Ireland, and the Tudor state*, Oxford, 2012, Chapter 3.

28 Canny, *Elizabethan Conquest*, Chapters 3–4.

29 Nicholas Bagenal to Leicester, February 1566, TNA, SP 63/16/33, fo. 79.

30 Instructions by Sidney and Council to St Leger, 1 February 1566, TNA, SP 63/16/22, fos 40–9; Draft of instructions for establishing a council in Munster, October 1568, TNA, SP 63/26/9, fos 38–51.

of their auncyent securitie and co[m]mon wealth'.[31] But he was alive to the fact that Munster was still possessed of unreconciled Irish lords and so required a government strong enough not only to restore order but also to introduce it where necessary. St Leger was thus also to receive, in addition to an independent military retinue numbering thirty horse and twenty foot, a petty captain, a trumpeter, a standard bearer and a surgeon, the authority to prosecute and repress rebellion 'with fire and sword', which allowed him to assemble, array and then march as many of the queen's subjects as he saw fit against rebels. He was further granted powers to execute martial law 'in as large & ample ma[n] ner, as to eny other it hath bene accustomed to be graunted wthin this realme of Ireland'. Such power, as this wording suggests, set the Irish regional council apart from its English counterparts. Secretary Cecil mitigated the president's authority somewhat, inserting wording in the instructions which allowed for the use of martial law 'when necessite shuld req[u]ir' and only where 'ordynary administracion of justice' had failed. Still, it was left to the president and council's discretion to decide when martial law should be applied and to judge where the common law was inadequate. St Leger was subsequently sent into Munster accompanied by two lawyers though he was armed only with a commission of oyer and terminer until such time as the queen formally approved his appointment as president and Sidney's book setting out the operational framework within which his presidency was to function.

St Leger seemed the right man for the job. He was a soldier, but more importantly he was the son of Anthony St Leger, the most successful deputy of the mid-Tudor period. The father had been instrumental in bringing the earls of Desmond back into the fold of English government; now the son was expected to use his family's credit with the Munster Fitzgeralds to help control the reckless Earl of Desmond. Elizabeth approved both St Leger's nomination and Sidney's plan for governing Munster, but she expressed considerable concern about St Leger's ability to execute the office of president impartially. The queen had learned of Anthony St Leger's alleged 'contentions' with the ninth Earl of Ormond, father of the current earl – Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond. Elizabeth regarded Ormond fondly – he was her cousin and also then with her at court – and thought that the St Legers' historic affinity with the earls of Desmond would undermine Butler's influence in the region. Butler's power, centred as it was on the liberty of Tipperary, was already threatened by

31 Lord Deputy and Council to Privy Council, 13 April 1566, TNA, SP 63/17/8, fo. 16.

the presidential council whose authority was now to extend even to palatinate jurisdictions.[32] Cecil assured Sidney that the queen would soon 'digest' the appointment.[33] But he was mistaken: with Ormond in her ear, Elizabeth first ordered Sidney not to allow St Leger to 'meddle' in the ongoing disputes between Desmond and Ormond and then, in early 1567, formally disallowed St Leger's presidency altogether. Henceforth the liberty of Tipperary was to be excluded from the authority of regional government in Munster.[34] The presidential council in Munster had been suspended less than a year after it had been established.

The queen's intervention here on Ormond's behalf gives some indication that the familiar narrative of the decline of regional power in the face of an inexorably centralizing state is an oversimplification.[35] In this instance, the crown defended the interests of an ancient regional power and thereby weakened the organ of government which was designed by the men who served in her name to function as an agent of royal power in the region. The picture which emerges so vividly in the Elizabethan period is that of a Tudor state possessed of many of the attributes of the state in the modern sense of an abstract impersonal bureaucratic entity, but which was still subject to the occasional about-turns and whims of a wilful monarch capable of exercising absolute power. Elizabeth's sudden decision to revoke the president of Munster underscores the argument levelled by some historians who seek to understand Elizabethan England as 'a monarchical republic' in which the queen and her public-minded councillors and servants were not infrequently at cross-purposes when it came to both making policy and seeing it carried out.[36]

Elizabeth may have exercised her prerogative right to revoke St Leger's appointment, but her support for regional presidencies in principle was unshaken. The queen recognized that the government of Munster was to serve as

32 Queen Elizabeth to Sidney, 28 March 1566, TNA, SP 63/16/69, fo. 203.

33 Cecil to Sidney, 27 March 1566, TNA, SP 63/16/67.

34 Queen Elizabeth to Sidney, 14 May 1566, TNA, SP 63/17/49; Queen Elizabeth to Sidney, 16 January 1567, TNA, SP 63/20/8. Sidney first reported that St Leger's appointment had been revoked in December: Sidney to Privy Council, 12 December 1566, TNA, SP 63/19/71; Canny, *Elizabethan Conquest*, 102.

35 Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558–1641*, Oxford, 1965. The revision of this narrative has been underway for many years, but for Tudor Ireland see McCormack, *Earldom of Desmond*; Gerald Power, *A European Frontier Elite: The Nobility of the English Pale in Tudor Ireland, 1496–1566*, Hannover, 2012.

36 Patrick Collinson, The monarchical republic of Elizabeth I, in: John Guy (ed.), *The Tudor Monarchy*, London, 1997, 110–34; Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569*, Cambridge, 1998.

the example for Connaught and, ultimately, for Ulster; and, in any case, there was no alternative plan under consideration to provide government in these remote parts of the kingdom. In late 1567 commissioners were despatched to the south and the west 'w^th^ aucthoritie and charge to reforme the same w^th^ justice' and continued to serve there as rudimentary regional councils; commissioners even sat at Dundalk, in the northern reaches of the English Pale, 'to heare all the complaintes of the borderers there and inhabitauntes of the north'.[37] But it was widely acknowledged that these were temporary measures and that settled presidents, with military backing, were necessary. Elizabeth finally settled, in September 1568, on the appointment of two English knights, John Pollard and Edward Fitton, as presidents of the proposed councils in Munster and Connaught.[38] Illness, however, prevented Pollard from taking up the post, so it was the council for Connaught, with Fitton formally installed in June 1569 as its president, which became the first official institution of regional government to begin operation in Ireland.[39] The Munster presidency was finally established later the following year with Sir John Perrot appointed president; but he did not take up office until February 1571 and only after a serious rebellion against royal government in the south had been brutally suppressed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who acted as the military governor of Munster while the presidential council awaited the installation of its president.[40] Within a year of his installation, Fitton, too, faced widespread rebellion offering confirmation to the crown and to royal officials alike that the military character and sweeping legal powers of presidential councils in Ireland were their greatest virtues. Both councils briefly lapsed following Fitton's recall, in 1572, and then Perrot's resignation in 1573, but were revived in 1576 since, as Sidney explained to Secretary Walsingham, he knew 'no other way to defend Ireland from foreign foes, nor to suppress the native rebels'.[41]

37 Lords Justices to Queen, 23 November 1567, TNA, SP 63/22/25 (quotations); Lords Justices to Queen, 8 February 1568, TNA, SP 63/23/32.

38 Cecil to Sidney, 3 September 1568, TNA, SP 63/25/75.

39 Pollard to Cecil, 24 June 1569, TNA, SP 63/28/52; Tremayne to Cecil, 12 April 1570, TNA, SP 63/30/42; Fitton to Cecil, 15 April 1570, TNA, SP 63/30/43; Waterhouse to Cecil, 16 June 1569, TNA, SP 63/28/30; Accounts, 30 September 1570, TNA, SP 63/30/84.

40 *Calendar of the Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, Henry VIII to 18th Elizabeth* (ed.), James Morrin, Dublin, 1861, 546; Queen to Vice-President of Wales, December 1570, TNA, SP 12/74/55.

41 Quoted in Canny, *Elizabethan Conquest*, 104.

The regional councils were financed by the conversion of coign and livery – abolished by statute in the 1569 parliament – and royal impositions to maintain the queen's army in Ireland – referred to as the 'cess' – into fixed annual rents and taxes which were paid to the president. 'Composition', as this process was known, was intended to diminish the military strength of regional and local magnates who now agreed to commute their traditional rights to billet troops on their tenants in exchange for a money payment, which they would in turn pay up to the presidents. Composition, which became a central feature of later Elizabethan policy in Ireland, at once made the councils financially self-sufficient and began the task of demilitarizing Irish society. The process was particularly successful in Connaught where by 1586 the annual composition rent more than covered the council's administrative expenditure.[42] In Munster, composition was stunted by the Earl of Desmond's rebellion (1579–83) and complicated by the crown's decision in 1586 to allow the settlement there of English colonists who resented having to pay composition taxes.[43]

The new presidential councils of Munster and Connaught presided over regions which accorded broadly with traditional Irish provincial boundaries, though in several instances the old divisions (and older regional identities) were ignored in the face of the political and administrative needs of the Tudor state. In earliest times, the district of Thomond, shired in 1570 as county Clare, formed the southern boundary of the kingdom of Connaught; in the late third century it was claimed by the kings of Munster when it earned the name 'Tuadh Mumhain', or Thomond, that is, North Munster.[44] County Clare, which was by Tudor times home to the powerful O'Brien clan, was briefly placed within the jurisdiction of the president and council of Munster; after 1580, it was returned to the administrative unit of Connaught.[45] However, it was later transferred (back) to Munster. In 1602 Elizabeth instructed her deputy and council:

> Forasmuch as our county of Clare was of ancient time within the government or precinct of our province of Munster, until of late annexed to our province of Connaught, which we understand was upon some untrue surmise made by our commissioners …

42 Bernadette Cunningham, The composition of Connacht in the lordships of Clanricard and Thomond, 1577–1641, in *Irish Historical Studies*, xxiv, 1984, 1–14; Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 305.

43 Brady, *Chief Governors*, 294; Michael McCarthy-Morrogh, *The Munster Plantation: English Migration to Southern Ireland, 1583–1641*, Oxford, 1986, 52, 76–7.

44 John O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees; or, the Origin and Stem of the Irish Nation*, Dublin, 1892, 847.

45 *The Irish Fiants of the Tudor Sovereigns, 1521–1603*, Dublin, 1994, Elizabeth, nos 1424, 2885, 3667–8.

> to the grievance and dislike of our subjects of that county; our pleasure is … [to] cause … Clare to be re-united and annexed to our province of Munster, and to be reduced under the order and government of our president and council of Munster, which we are persuaded will be for the advancement of our service, and the good liking of our loving subjects in those parts.[46]

The queen's decision was influenced by the entreaties of Donough O'Brien, the fourth Earl of Thomond, who was subsequently appointed president of Munster. The inclusion of the Earl's ancestral lands in Clare within the jurisdiction of the Munster presidency came as a reward for the Earl's unswerving loyalty to the crown in the heady years of the late 1590s. County Cavan, meanwhile, was also traditionally a part of the province of Connaught, but successive governors in Ireland decided to leave the recently shired county outside the jurisdiction of the council of Connaught.[47] In Munster, the Earl of Ormond's liberty of Tipperary was excluded from the jurisdiction of the provincial government so long as Elizabeth lived – the Butlers' liberty was eventually suspended in 1621.

The provincial councils and presidencies in the south and west stood as bulwarks of English authority amid the upheaval wrought by Hugh O'Neill's rebellion which swept through the kingdom in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign and continued to be key features of English rule in Ireland into the seventeenth century. The extension of assize circuits throughout the kingdom and the crown's insistence that payment of composition rents be made directly to the exchequer in Dublin diminished somewhat the independence of the president and council under the Stewarts, but the sweeping legal and military powers which continued to be vested in these regional institutions ensured their importance to both the state and to those segments of the population in the west and south which had embraced English law and government.[48] King James, writing in 1615, instructed the president and councillors of Munster to preserve 'the reformed and civil sort of subjects' within their jurisdiction and compel the 'ignorant and disobedient … to embrace knowledge and civility'.[49]

46 Quoted in James Hardiman, *The History of the County and Town of Galway, from the Earliest Period to the Present Time*, Dublin, 1820, 91.

47 Christopher Maginn, Elizabethan Cavan: the institutions of Tudor government in an Irish county, in: Brendan Scott (ed.), *Culture and Society in Early Modern Breifne/Cavan*, Dublin, 2009, 72–3.

48 Morgan, Provincial presidencies, in: Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to Irish History*, 492.

49 Quoted in Jane Ohlmeyer, *Making Ireland English: The Irish Aristocracy in the Seventeenth Century*, New Haven, 221. The records of the Munster council are extant and have been published: *The Council Book for the Province of Munster* c.*1599–1649*, ed. M.C. Clayton, Dublin, 2008.

The republican regime led by Oliver Cromwell suppressed the regional councils in 1649 as institutions which were deemed economically burdensome to the commonwealth; but they were later revived along with the monarchy in 1660 before being finally abolished in 1672.[50]

With half of Ireland under regional government from the mid-1570s the kingdom was effectively divided into four regions. Connaught and Munster were now separate administrative regions presided over by martial presidents with sweeping juridical powers to effect cultural and political change. Their establishment allowed subsequent chief governors to concentrate more exclusively on governing Leinster in the east as a separate administrative unit. The English Pale was subsumed into this wider region which also included those Irish, and some English, lordships situated along the traditional frontier which had been placed under the direct control of military governors, known as seneschals, and those counties, like Wexford, Cavan and Kilkenny, which had been excluded from the jurisdictions of the presidents. This left Ulster, which by virtue of the arrival of regional government in the rest of the kingdom and the survival in the north-west of native Irish forms of government and social organization, accorded a separate cultural and political status of its own. In early 1600, at the height of O'Neill's rebellion against the crown, the lord justice and archbishop of Dublin, Adam Loftus, remarked that 'Ulster is of all the rest most p[er]nitious to ou^{r} natio[n], as well in respect of the climate, as for want of townes & habitatio[n], other than is in a barbarous & hatefull wilderness'.[51] The erection of a presidency here was often suggested to carry English rule into this the Tudor state's final frontier in Ireland, but the continued strength and ultimately the rebellion of O'Neill and the Irish lords in north-west Ulster prevented the introduction of regional government.[52] That Elizabeth's government clung to the hope of erecting a presidential council in Ulster so late into the sixteenth century speaks to the conservatism of Tudor thinking about Ireland. It was only in the greatly changed circumstances of the early seventeenth century that an English government was prepared to abandon the state-sponsored regional council as a principal means of extending English rule into a distant and unruly area in favour of an entirely more radical project: state-sponsored regional plantation.

50 T.C. Barnard, *Cromwellian Ireland: English Government and Reform in Ireland, 1649–1660*, Oxford, 1975, 272.

51 Adam Loftus to Robert Cecil, 20 January 1600, TNA, SP 63/207/34.

52 See, for example, Privy Council to Lord Deputy Perrot, 31 August 1584, TNA, SP 63/111/82; Roger Wilbraham to Burghley, 4 December 1591, TNA, SP 63/161/28.

Steven G. Ellis

Ireland's 'Lost' English Region

The English Pale in Early Tudor Times

By contrast with the established traditions of regional history in many parts of continental Europe, the study of historical regions in Ireland and Britain has attracted relatively little attention.[1] Throughout the British Isles, the nation has remained the preferred focus for the organization of the historical narrative; but local histories, particularly county histories, are also fairly ubiquitous, and as an alternative focus for historical inquiries they offer a stiff challenge to nation-centred history. The study of regions, however, seemingly falls between these two stools; and the English Pale in early Tudor Ireland, the subject of the present chapter, is very much a case in point. Individually, the shires of Dublin, Kildare, Louth and Meath which together made up the English Pale in early Tudor times have all attracted their fair share of county histories.[2] In the fifteenth century, they were often described collectively as 'the four obedient shires', before 'the English Pale' was coined as a collective name for them. Thereafter, the English Pale was a prominent feature of Ireland's political geography from its creation in the late fifteenth century until its slow demise following the completion of the Tudor conquest of Ireland in 1603. It was also the inspiration for the familiar expression 'beyond the Pale' with reference to actions which lay beyond the bounds of civilized behaviour; and references to the Pale's creation and to its – allegedly – constantly contracting boundaries are a commonplace of histories

1 For a recent overview of this topic, and the reasons for the relative lack of interest in regions, see S.G. Ellis, Kieran Hoare/Gerald Power/W.M. Aird/Rhys Morgan, Regions and frontiers in the British Isles, in: S.G. Ellis/Raingard Eßer/Jean-François Berdah/Miloš Řezník (eds.), *Frontiers, Regions and Identities in Europe,* Pisa, 2009, 19–36.

2 The latest addition to this well-established genre of local history is the County History and Society Series, of which 21 volumes have been published to date, including F.H.A. Aalen/Kevin Whelan (eds.), *Dublin City and County: From Prehistory to Present*, Dublin, 1992; and William Nolan/Thomas McGrath (eds.), *Kildare History and Society: Interdisciplinary Essays on the History of an Irish County*, Dublin, 2006; with a volume on Co. Meath also promised. For Co. Louth, see especially, Raymond Gillespie/Harold O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Borderlands: Essays on the History of the Ulster-Leinster Border*, Belfast, 1989; Brendan Smith, *Colonisation and Conquest in Medieval Ireland: The English in Louth, 1170–1330*, Cambridge, 1999.

of late medieval Ireland.[3] Yet, beyond noting its avowedly English character and identity, historians have for long remained reluctant to offer any deeper analysis of the Pale, in particular to probe its status and character as a specific English region of the early Tudor state.[4] The English Pale lay on a separate island; and it was the subject of legislation in a separate parliament. Even with reference to Ireland, the English Pale as a region has been largely ignored: almost the only significant exception to the rule that historians of Ireland do not do regions seems to be in respect of Ulster, and this is probably for political reasons relating to partition.[5] As a region of the Tudor state, however, the English Pale has remained almost unexplored territory.[6]

I

At first sight, the study of the English Pale as a distinct region of Tudor Ireland might seem an obvious line of inquiry. Geographically, it was a fertile coastal plain. It was bounded by the Mourne mountains to the north and, more closely, by the Wicklow mountains to the south, but to the west, the plain's champaign

3 For earlier views of the English Pale, a convenient summary is supplied by the later chapters of Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland. II Medieval Ireland 1169–1534*, Oxford, 1987. See especially, Art Cosgrove, The emergence of the Pale, 1399–1447, in: ibid., ch. 18; Ireland beyond the Pale, 1399–1460, in: ibid., ch. 20.

4 This is now beginning to change: see especially Gerald Power, *A European Frontier Elite: The Nobility of the English Pale in Tudor Ireland, 1496–1566*, Hannover, 2012; Tadhg O'Keeffe, Medieval frontiers and fortification: the Pale and its evolution, in: Aalen/Whelan (eds.), *Dublin City and County*, 57–77; S.G. Ellis, An English gentleman and his community: Sir William Darcy of Platten, in: Vincent Carey/Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds.), *Taking Sides? Colonial and Confessional* Mentalités *in Early Modern Ireland: Essays in Honour of Karl S. Bottigheimer*, Dublin, 2003, 19–41. And from the other side of the fence, Christopher Maginn, Gaelic Ireland's English frontiers in the late middle ages, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, sect. C, 110, 2010, 173–90.

5 Ellis/Hoare/Power/Aird/Morgan, Regions and frontiers in the British Isles, 23. See also Harold O'Sullivan, Dynamics of regional development: processes of assimilation and division in the marchland of south-east Ulster in late medieval and early modern Ireland, in: Ciaran Brady/Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *British Interventions in Early Modern Ireland*, Cambridge, 2005, 49–72, which enters a timely plea for the consideration of the region as an alternative framework of analysis for the study of late medieval and early modern Ireland.

6 I have tried elsewhere to develop comparative perspectives on the English Pale as a Tudor region: see S.G. Ellis, *The Pale and the Far North: Government and Society in Two Early Tudor Borderlands*, Galway, 1988; *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State*, Oxford, 1995.

Fig. 1 ‚The English lordship of Ireland, c.1525' – Source: Steven G. Ellis, Reform and Revival; English Government in Ireland, 1470–1534, Woodbridge 1986, p. II.

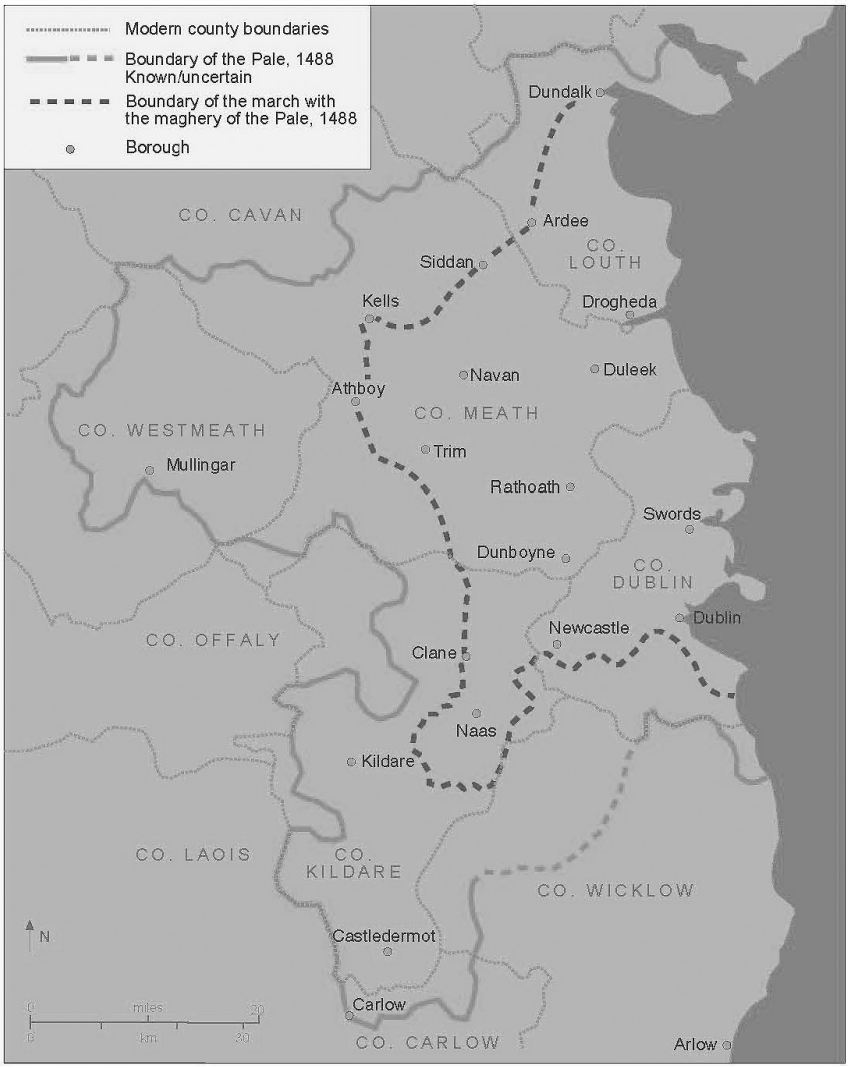
ground faded more imperceptibly into the bogs of the midlands. In all three directions differences of land capability and use, between pastoralism and tillage or mixed farming, also underpinned the Pale's relatively visible boundaries: different patterns of settlement, reflecting land quality and the earlier subinfeudation of the region, supplied a clear boundary between, on the one hand, a heavily populated, more urbanized region of market boroughs and nucleated villages defended by a screen of major castles, walled towns, and fortified bridges, and on the other, an unimproved, more sparsely populated, landscape of mountain, moorland and bog.[7] Contemporary awareness of these boundaries was further highlighted by ethnic differences among the population: acculturation was of the essence of a frontier society, and in the Pale marches the peasantry was predominantly of Irish descent, but there were evident differences in appearance between the Pale's ruling elite, the merchants and gentry of English habit and speech and of English law and custom, and the neighbouring Gaelic clans of Irish habit and speech following Irish law and custom. And while the Pale was geographically separate from the English mainland, its population enjoyed the same legal status as English subjects elsewhere, entitled to the king's protection and access to his courts, by contrast with the king's 'Irish enemies' living in the territories surrounding the Pale whose status at English law was that of aliens.[8]

The wider European pattern of research on regional history does, however, afford some clues as to why historical research on the Pale should have remained so underdeveloped.[9] Two points seem particularly important here. First, who or what defines a region may vary quite considerably: commerce and the economy; language, culture and religion; environment and climate; or history, identity and administration – all these forces helped in some measure to shape the Pale's development as a distinct Tudor region. Yet regional history is usually history as constructed or imagined internally by the population of the region; and in the case of the English Pale, the region was later influenced as much as other parts

7 These points are contextualized and developed in S.G. Ellis, Integration, identities and frontiers in the British Isles: a European perspective, in: Harald Gustafsson/Hanne Sanders (eds.), *Vid gränsen: Integration och identiteter i det förnationalla Norden* (*At the Border. Integration and Identities in the pre-national Nordic Countries*), Göteborg, 2006, 19–45.

8 Ellis, An English gentleman and his community, 20–32.

9 For the following comments, see S.G. Ellis, Introduction: Regional and Transnational History in Europe, in: S.G. Ellis/Iakovos Michailidis (eds.), *Regional and Transnational History in Europe,* Pisa, 2011, 1–10; S.G. Ellis, Regional/transnational history in European higher education, in: *Europe and the Wider World: Towards a New Historical Perspective*, Pisa, 2010, 40–5.



Caption Fig. 2: ‚The English Pale in Ireland, 1488'
Source: History Ireland March/April 2011, vol. 19, p. 15

of Ireland by the development among the population of a separate Irish sense of identity which gradually replaced an earlier identification with the Pale as a distinct English region. Later still, following political partition in 1920, what had in Tudor times been a peripheral region of the English state became the core region of an Irish Free State which loudly trumpeted its Gaelic pedigree and identity. Thus, the modern descendants of Ireland's medieval English, who had seen themselves as English by culture, identity and allegiance, now see themselves as Irish and identify with this independent Irish state.[10] A second consideration is that regions in early modern Europe were frequently characterized by their peripheral locations. Very often they were frontier regions, as indeed the English Pale was: but even where regional histories are a common way of organizing historical writing, the topics covered and the questions asked are normally shaped by what may be described as 'the national agenda', viz. the past (or future) political and cultural contexts in each country which have shaped its national grand narrative. Thus, the history of the English Pale needed subsequently to be refashioned in an Irish national context, and this was done by integrating the Pale more closely into the national story and marginalizing historic ties with England. This, in turn, called in question the nature of the Pale's boundaries with Gaelic Ireland, specifically the Pale's essential character as an international frontier, a subject on which historians of Ireland have traditionally had rather more to say.

The concept of the frontier, and in particular the medieval antecedents of the English Pale, has attracted a good deal of attention since Professor James Lydon first explored the problem and sketched its dimensions in a seminal article published nearly fifty years ago.[11] And since then, the frontier paradigm has featured quite extensively in studies of medieval Ireland's two nations.[12] Lydon saw the establishment of the Anglo-Gaelic frontier as a deliberate policy by the English government, one which supposedly presented few problems in the

10 S.G. Ellis, Defending English ground: the Tudor frontiers in history and historiography, in: S.G. Ellis/Raingard Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500–1850*, Hannover-Laatzen, 2006, 73–4, 88–93.

11 James Lydon, The problem of the frontier in medieval Ireland, in: *Topic: A Journal of the Liberal Arts* 13, 1967, 5–22; reprinted in Peter Crooks, *Government, War and Society in Medieval Ireland: Essays by Edmund Curtis, A.J. Otway-Ruthven and James Lydon*, Dublin, 2008, 317–31, to which the following references refer.

12 Appropriately, frontiers were a key theme of the *Festschrift* presented to Lydon on his retirement: Terry Barry/Robin Frame/Katharine Simms (eds.), *Colony and Frontier in Medieval Ireland: Essays Presented to J.F. Lydon*, London, 1995. For a discussion of writings on the medieval frontier since Lydon's essay, see Peter Crooks, Government, war and society in English Ireland, 1171–1541: a guide to recent work, in: Crooks (ed.), *Government, War and Society in Medieval Ireland*, 371–3.

earlier age of English expansion (1169–1300), but many more later on. After *c.*1300, he argued, the frontier began to break up, and earlier clear-cut divisions between a *terra pacis* and a *terra guerrae* gave place to marchland. The result was that the settlers were 'at least partially assimilated to the Gaelic Ireland they found all around them'.[13] In the fifteenth century, however, Lydon detected 'a new frontier emerging' in 'parts of the four loyal counties' around Dublin; but then 'the real frontier contracted once again to the limits of what was known as the Pale'. Thus, he concluded, the policy 'of separating the races and driving a cultural barrier between them' proved 'a complete failure'. The Tudor monarchs were eventually obliged to 'face up to the frontier problem in a realistic way' by means of a complete conquest and a new colonization.[14]

The range of ideas which were very tentatively explored by Lydon in his initial sketch of the problem in the 1960s later achieved almost canonical status, both as regards the gradual development of a distinctive terminology with which to analyse the problem as also regarding the significance which he attached to a supposedly continuing English decline in precipitating the Tudor conquest.[15] The medieval frontier is of course a sensitive issue in Irish historiography: the island's modern partition between two states shapes the historiography of the frontier – a phenomenon which is also true to a lesser degree in respect of regions – in terms of what is studied, from what perspective, and in what terms. It has also influenced the particular construction placed on some of the more familiar and accessible contemporary accounts of the English Pale, such as those provided by Sir William Darcy and Chief Baron Finglas.[16] Thus, the late medieval frontier has been depicted primarily as a frontier, or zone, of contact rather than a frontier of separation, or to use the terminology developed by German geographers, as a *Zusammenwachsgrenze* (a frontier of convergence),

13 Lydon, Problem of the frontier, 329.

14 Lydon, Problem of the frontier, (quotations, 327, 330–1).

15 In this context, it is perhaps worthwhile to call attention to the nuanced terminology and concepts deployed in Lydon, Problem of the frontier, 317–31. Lydon's paper discusses 'the rebel, degenerate English' and the 'cultural and linguistic assimilation' of 'English settlers' who were 'assimilated to Gaelic culture' and through the 'Irishizing process' became 'degenerate' (see esp. 323–9). He also refers to 'a policy of apartheid' and to the 'Anglo-Irish', but the terminology and concepts used leave open the possibility of comparisons with Tudor rule in Wales or the Anglo-Scottish borders. Cf. Ellis, Defending English ground, 90–3.

16 Finglas's 'Breviate of the gettyng of Ireland and of the decaye of the same' is most commonly read in Walter Harris (ed.), *Hibernica: Or Some Ancient Pieces Relating to Ireland*, Dublin, 1747, 39–52. Darcy's tract is best known from *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth* (6 vols, 1867–73), i, no.2.

not a *Trennungsgrenze* (a frontier of separation).[17] In this context, too, the historians' quest to uncover the roots of Irishness also invited discussion of the growing ties between native and settler while overlooking inherited differences. The 'national agenda' has thus tended to marginalize the development of the English Pale as a physical frontier and also its essentially English identity: it stresses the thoroughgoing nature of the settlers' dealings with the Gaelic polity, their supposed Irishness and 'gaelicization', portraying instead two varieties of Irishmen ('Anglo-Irish' and 'Gaelic Irish') interacting across a dissolving frontier. And attempts to redress the balance by focusing more closely on particular developments within the English Pale and the settlers' English identity have been dismissed as 'two-nation theory'.[18]

As this chapter illustrates, however, close attention to the actual evidence – descriptions of the Pale frontier as a physical barrier, and the political terminology actually used by the Palesmen to describe events there – suggests that the English of Ireland were far from seeing the creation of an English Pale as a failed policy in a failed entity. But then the Palesmen did not have the benefit of hindsight available to more nationally minded historians writing with the recent Troubles in mind.

II

As a distinct region of the English state, the English Pale was a late addition, the product of political change during the course of the fifteenth century.[19] Its

17 For a typology of medieval frontiers, including Ireland, see Daniel Power/Naomi Standen, Introduction, in: Power/Standen (eds.), *Frontiers in Question: Eurasian Borderlands, 700–1700*, Basingstoke, 1999, 1–31. On the whole, however, Irish historians have ignored Lydon's opening suggestion about the need for a Turner thesis which would allow the Irish frontier to be viewed comparatively in the context of frontiers in medieval Europe: Lydon, Problem of the frontier, 317.

18 P.J. Duffy, David Edwards, and Elizabeth Fitzpatrick, Introduction: recovering Gaelic Ireland, *c.*1250–c.1650, in: Duffy/Edwards/Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland: Land, Lordship and Settlement* c.*1250–c.1650*, Dublin, 2001, 30; Kenneth Nicholls, Worlds apart? The Ellis two-nation theory on late medieval Ireland, in: *History Ireland* 7, 2, 1999, 22–6. 'Two-nations theory' is of course the dismissive phrase coined by modern Irish Nationalists about Unionist perspectives on Northern Ireland of which they disapprove. For the beginnings of a reaction to this type of history, see S.J. Connolly, *Contested Island: Ireland 1460–1630*, Oxford, 2007, ch. 1

19 For conventional views on the emergence of the Pale, see Cosgrove (ed.), *New history of Ireland. II Medieval Ireland*, ch. 18. For a different perspective, see Power, *A European Frontier Elite*, *passim*; Ellis, *The Pale and the Far North*, *passim*.

emergence as a frontier region reflected the partial nature of medieval English settlement in Ireland and the consequent establishment of a frontier between English and Gaelic Ireland. Attracted by prospects of good land for agriculture, medieval English colonization of the region had been intensive, with the establishment of manors and a system of mixed farming along English lines. The surrounding uplands were unsuited to tillage, however, and largely remained under Gaelic occupation: English settlement thinned out very quickly to the north and south but more gradually towards the west. On the whole, though, the regions of English settlement in Ireland, including the Pale, did not form one compact block of territory but several smaller areas, interspersed between districts in which Gaelic lordship and rule remained unchallenged; and in the Gaelic parts power was fragmented between numerous small but independent chieftaincies and lordships. Thus, what had emerged by 1300, after the initial English impetus towards conquest had petered out and a broad political equilibrium between the two nations had been established, was 'a land of many marches', as Professor Robin Frame has memorably described it.[20] And political conditions in each of these marches reflected the shifting balance of power between local Gaelic chiefs and English magnates. The following period saw the political and cultural recovery of the native Irish against the English in many parts. As this Gaelic Revival, as it is now called, swept away the more lightly settled, and marginal, districts of English lordship, so perceptions of the Pale's borders as a frontier were powerfully reinforced by the close coincidence there of geographical, cultural, political, military and administrative boundaries. These contrasts were also underlined by the deployment in English official circles of a rhetoric of difference to describe the English and Gaelic parts. This rhetoric emphasised the 'otherness' of the native Irish living 'beyond the Pale', castigating them as savages. It reflected English perceptions of the politically fragmented, pastoral and kin-based character of Irish society, a population living in wooden huts in a dispersed habitat, without towns, in a landscape of mountain, forest and bog, all of which English observers saw as indications of a backward and primitive people.

In terms of economic activity and social organization, for instance, the English had already developed in the twelfth century a checklist of the attributes of civility which, in reality, simply replicated conditions in lowland England. These included a well-populated landscape, with a settled society,

20 Robin Frame, Power and society in the lordship of Ireland, 1272–1377, in: *Past & Present* 76, 1977, 3–33 (quotation, 32).

wealthy towns and nucleated villages, a manorial economy, a cereal-based agriculture and a well-differentiated social structure with a numerous and vigorous gentry. By contrast, the 'wild' peoples of the upland zone, notably the Irish, were denigrated as lazy, bestial and barbarous – a shifting population living in idleness and brutality in woods and bogs, eking out a miserable existence from cattle raising and rustling. There were similar checklists of civility and savagery in regard to morals, dress and physical appearance.[21] English reports divided Ireland rather schematically into a 'land of peace' where 'the king's loyal English lieges' lived a civil life in walled towns and nucleated villages; and a 'land of war' where lurked the 'wild Irish', 'the king's Irish enemies', in woods, bogs and mountains. Within a few short miles to the south of Dublin, for instance, the English lowlands gave place to the Gaelic lordships of the Wicklow mountains, agriculture to pastoralism, English-speaking gentlemen to Gaelic-speaking clansmen, English cloaks to Gaelic mantles, common law to brehon law, and stone houses to mud huts: in short, 'English civility' degenerated into 'Irish savagery'.[22] Legislation, codified in the Statutes of Kilkenny (1366), aimed to preserve the English character of the colonial parts by proscribing the use of Irish law and customs among the English.[23] In truth, though, the Irish were there in their midst because the English settlement had in many parts retained native labourers, often as serfs, to work the land, and the fourteenth-century labour shortages had encouraged Irish migration into the English districts. Later, mid-fifteenth-century legislation also required Irishmen living in the Englishry to take English names, to follow English customs, to adopt English weapons such as the use of the longbow, and generally to adapt their lifestyle to meet official checklists of English civility.[24] Equally, the regular convening of parliament allowed Ireland's Eng-

21 This rhetoric of difference is discussed more generally in regard to the British Isles in R.R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles 1093–1343*, Oxford, 2000, ch. 5; S.G. Ellis, Civilizing the natives: state formation and the Tudor monarchy, *c.*1400–1603, in: S.G. Ellis/Lud'a Klusáková (eds.), *Imagining Frontiers: Contesting Identities*, Pisa, 2007, 77–92, at 78, 83, and the references there cited. For Ireland, see also James Muldoon, *Identity on the Medieval Irish Frontier: Degenerate Englishmen, Wild Irishmen, Middle Nations*, Gainesville, FL, 2003.

22 Ellis, An English gentleman and his community, 24–5.

23 Parliament roll, 40 Edward III (H.F. Berry (ed.), *Statute and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliament of Ireland, King John to Henry V*, Dublin, 1907, 430–69).

24 Parliament roll, 5 Edward IV cc 16-17 (H.F. Berry (ed.), *Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, First to the Twelfth Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*, Dublin, 1914, 290–3).

lish ruling elite (nobles, burgesses, knights of the shire) to demonstrate their Englishness by the enactment of law.[25]

As the Dublin government's control over the lordship's outlying parts declined, so marchlands increased. The government increasingly focused its main defensive effort on the region around Dublin, so that in the early fifteenth century 'the land of peace' was increasingly identified with the boundaries of 'the four obedient shires', the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath and Kildare. By 1428, 'the four obedient shires' had in turn been vaguely divided into marches and maghery.[26] The use of this Gaelic term 'maghery', a transliteration of *machaire* (meaning 'a plain' or 'level ground'), to describe 'the land of peace' (as opposed to the marches) is revealing. It occurred, for instance, in a statute of 1488, the Act of Marches and Maghery, which prohibited within the English Pale the imposition of coign and livery – a quasi-Gaelic military custom much disliked in the Englishry – except by landlords on their own tenants in the marches.[27] The use of the terms 'marches' and 'maghery' also reflected an emerging distinction in terms of land capability, settlement patterns and political conditions between, on the one hand, a less densely populated, predominantly pastoral, outer defensive ring of the Pale, the marches, and, on the other hand, an English heartland, the maghery – an area of mixed farming, nucleated villages and market towns, in which conditions approximated more closely to those in lowland England and to official perceptions of 'English civility'.

This focus during the fifteenth century on the region's defence led to the creation of a standing defence force, a developed system of fortifications, and new regulations for militia service. The Brotherhood of Arms, established by statute of 1474, provided for thirteen leading Pale landowners and local officials to elect from among themselves annually on St George's Day (England's patron saint) a captain of a retinue of 120 archers and forty horsemen.[28] Mil-

25 See Brendan Smith, Keeping the peace, in: James Lydon (ed.), *Law and Disorder in Thirteenth-century Ireland: The Dublin Parliament of 1297*, Dublin, 1997, 57–65. The standard study of the medieval parliament of Ireland remains H.G. Richardson/G.O. Sayles, *The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages*, Philadephia, 1952.

26 Parliament roll, 8 Henry VI c. 13 (H.F. Berry (ed.), *Statute Rolls of the Parliament of Ireland, Reign of King Henry the Sixth*, Dublin, 1910, 34–6.

27 D.B. Quinn, The bills and statutes of the Irish parliaments of Henry VII and Henry VIII, in: *Analecta Hibernica* 10, 1941, 84; Charles McNeill (ed.), *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's register, c.1172–1534*, Dublin, 1950, 250; National Library of Ireland, MS 2507, f. 57v.

28 Parliament rolls, 12 & 13 Edward IV c. 60, 14 Edward IV c. 3, 19 & 20 Edward IV c. 27 (*Stat. Ire., Edw. IV*, ii, 130–37, 188–95, 740–7).

itary aspects of the region's division into marches and maghery were also consolidated. The boundaries between marches and maghery had been fixed by statute in 1477, in part to regulate the taking of coign and livery; and the Act of Marches and Maghery (1488) prohibited coign and livery throughout the English Pale except when imposed by landlords on their own tenants in the marches.[29] Thus, upon proclamation by the governor and council of a hosting against the Irish, 'everie gentleman dwelling in any marches' was to cess kerne (billet unarmoured Irish foot soldiers) on his marchlands, but also to send to the hosting one horseman for every ten marks of annual income. The lords and gentry in the maghery, by contrast, were to send a longbowman to the hosting for each twenty pounds of annual income.[30] Thus, the distinction between marches and maghery in terms of militia service was very clear. The marches were also gradually strengthened to prevent Irish chiefs and clansmen from entering 'the English country' by building small castles or towers, by fortifying bridges at key points of entry, and by constructing earthen dikes and ditches to inhibit cattle rustling. Thus, a statute of 1495, observing that in many parts the English marches were still 'open & not fe[n]sible in ffastnes of diches and castels', required tenants there to erect 'a double diche of vi foote of herth above the grounde' at the intersections of their land with Irishmen and other ditches 'in the wastes or fasaghe landes' beyond the marches.[31] In other respects, too, defence needs promoted collaboration between the landowning elites of the four shires. Upon proclamation of a hosting, the gentry of Meath and Dublin were jointly to elect a captain to lead them; the bowmen of Louth, Meath and Drogheda were to go together; and Dublin city and the towns of Drogheda and Dundalk were to accompany the king's deputy. Once in the field, the shires with their standards should lodge together: thus Dublin and Kildare were to go together; and likewise Drogheda, Meath and Louth should go together.[32]

29 The National Archives, MS E.30/1548, f. 18 (printed in Agnes Conway, *Henry VII's Relations with Scotland and Ireland 1485–1498*, Cambridge, 1932, 215–16; Quinn, Bills and statutes of the Irish parliaments of Henry VII and Henry VIII, 84; McNeill (ed.), *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register*, 250: N.L.I., MS 2507, f. 57v).

30 Patrick Finglas, baron, 'A Breviate of the gettyng of Ireland and of the decaye of the same'. The version I am using here is from the Marquess of Salisbury's MSS, Hatfield House, CP144, ff 1–15v (at ff 11v–12). There is an inaccurate printed copy in Harris (ed.), *Hibernica*, Dublin, 1747, 39–52.

31 Statute roll, 11 Henry VII c. 34 (Conway, *Henry VII's Relations*, 215); Lydon, Problem of the frontier, 326–7.

32 Marquess of Salisbury's MSS, Hatfield House, CP144, ff 12, 13v.

By 1494, when Henry VII appointed a new governor for Ireland to counteract the threat to his throne from Yorkist pretenders, 'the four obedient shires' had been transformed from an extended march into a distinctive region, with a clearly delineated, defensive frontier. Perceiving this, the new governor, Sir Edward Poynings, coined the term 'the English Pale' for the region, a new collective name which recognized the Pale's separate identity as a region and also its predominantly English character. Sir Edward Poynings had briefly served as governor of Calais, and it was at that time, in 1493, that this English enclave in continental Europe between France and the Holy Roman Empire had likewise first been described as an English Pale.[33] Local landowners and officials in Ireland, however, also recognized that here were not just four contiguous shires but a whole region set apart by its English culture from the surrounding Irishry. Thus, bills promoted by the governor and council and enacted by the 1499 parliament 'for thencreasinge of Englishe manners and condicions' required those with land 'within the precincte of the English Pale' to ride in a saddle in the English manner and not to use Irish weapons.[34] The term 'the English Pale' rapidly replaced 'the four obedient shires' as the preferred description of the region.[35]

III

The Pale stood out as a separate region in socio-economic terms, too, with its emphasis on the commercial exploitation of the land through tillage. The focus on tillage, a key marker of civility in the official rhetoric of difference, gave the region a more pronounced English character, reflected in social structures and in the numerous market towns and manorial villages. Exceptionally, it is possible to calculate the percentage of land in the Pale given over to tillage because the standard form of taxation in early Tudor Ireland, the Irish parliamentary

33 Ellis, An English gentleman and his community, 23–5.

34 Quinn, Bills and statutes of the Irish parliaments of Henry VII and Henry VIII, 96, 101; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry VII. Vol. II 1494–1509*, London, 1916, 128–9.

35 For instance, the compendium of documents which includes the Breviate (see note 30) refers both to 'the English Pale' and also 'the four shires' in different parts of the compendium, but the preference of the one term over the other also provides an indication as to the possible authorship of these different sections. The parts which may plausibly be attributed to Sir William Darcy usually refer to 'the four shires', whereas the parts which, in all likelihood, are of a slightly later date speak of 'the English Pale'.

subsidy, was assessed on ploughlands (120 medieval acres) of cultivated land per barony.[36] The actual assessments were adjusted regularly in accordance with the amount of land actually under cultivation: thus in 1495, for instance, Lord Treasurer Conway with sixteen horsemen, Chief Justice Bowring with eight horsemen, and Walter Howth, the king's attorney, with two servants spent nine days assessing ploughlands of cultivated land in Cos. Dublin and Meath for the new subsidy recently granted by Poynings' parliament. They were joined by one of the barons of the exchequer and two clerks who then spent thirteen days writing up the books of assessment.[37]

The subsidy extent compiled about 1502 gives us a fairly clear indication of the levels of tillage, barony by barony, throughout the four shires at that time.[38] According to this, the lay baronial assessments for Louth totalled to 105¾ ploughlands, for Kildare 130 ploughlands, for Dublin 180 ploughlands and for Meath 299 ploughlands, in all 714¾ ploughlands. The crosslands and the clergy were assessed separately, at 157¼ ploughlands in all; so the assessment for the Pale as a whole was 872 ploughlands *c.*1502. This represented over 260,000 statute acres under tillage, so highlighting the region's unique position in the intensive exploitation of tillage for a commercial market.

We do not need to discuss here the basis of these assessments and the percentage of land under tillage in individual baronies which they indicate.[39] What is very clear, however, is that the levels of tillage in the English Pale were rising appreciably at this time, as is clear from the rather fuller returns for the lay baronies. These show that the assessments for lay baronies increased gradually during this period from 673 ploughlands in 1479 to 755 ploughlands by 1533.[40] And as regards the percentage of the land under tillage in the English Pale, they indicate that in Dublin shire 30.4 per cent of the land was under

36 See D.B. Quinn, The Irish parliamentary subsidy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, sect. C, 42, 1935, 219–46; H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The Irish Parliament in the Middle Ages*, Philadephia, 1952, ch. 15; Ellis, An English gentleman and his community, 22–3.

37 British Library, Royal MS 18C, XIV, f. 137v.

38 The extents for *c.*1502 are in T.C.D., MS 594, ff 18v–21v (printed, not entirely accurately, in Quinn, Irish parliamentary subsidy, 234–7).

39 The following calculations of the acreage of baronies are based on the 1872 returns to the House of Commons inquiry, adjusted to reflect instances where medieval baronies were subsequently divided. The mode of calculating percentages of land under tillage in each barony is outlined in my forthcoming study of frontier regions: *Defending English Ground: War and Peace in Meath and Northumberland in Early Tudor Times.*

40 Calculated from T.C.D., MS 594, ff 18v-19v, 21v-22; B.L., Royal MS 18C, XIV, ff 105-5v, 107v, 108v, 109; T.N.A., E 101/248, no. 21, SP 65/1, no. 2.

tillage in 1479, rising to 34.9 per cent by 1533, with smaller increases for the other three shires: from 16.0 to 17.1 per cent for Louth; from 7.0 to 8.5 per cent for Kildare; and from 10.5 to 12.5 per cent for Meath. The average level of tillage throughout the four shires was thus 12.0 per cent in 1479, rising to 14.3 per cent by 1533. These increases no doubt reflect more stable conditions in the Pale maghery, and probably also a rising population. The location of Dublin and Drogheda so close to all areas of the Pale maghery offered a possible commercial outlet for tillage farmers, while the towns themselves provided a convenient market for corn. At least in years of good harvest the surplus wheat was thus exported from Dublin and Drogheda, licences for export to England being entered in accordance with the English statute of 1534.[41]

Looking at the incidence of the subsidy barony by barony, it is clear that tillage was mainly focused on the Pale heartland, the so-called maghery. In Co. Meath, for instance, the percentage of land under tillage in the six marcher baronies in western Meath rose only slightly between 1479 and 1533, from 4.5 to 4.9 per cent; but in the eleven baronies located mainly in the Pale maghery in the east it rose from a shade under 13 to 16.3 per cent in the same period.[42] And when the boundaries between march and maghery were fixed in 1477, the opportunity was apparently also taken to make some adjustments in line with improving political conditions. Thus, the town of Kells, which as recently as 1468 had been noted as lying in the frontier of the marches, was by 1488 described as lying within the maghery.[43] In part, the distinction between marches and maghery reflected the quality of the land, which in the marches was often less suited to tillage; but the major reason for the increased focus on tillage in the maghery was the defensive screen now protecting the Pale heartland as opposed to the exposed marches which lay closer to the Irishry. In the face of Irish raids on the English marches, cattle could be moved out of harm's way, but crops got burned.

In this context, it is perhaps worth looking in a little more detail at the situation in two baronies, Newcastle barony, Co. Dublin, which lay predominantly in the maghery, and the exposed barony of Cooley, Co. Louth (now Lower

41 A.K. Longfield, *Anglo-Irish Trade in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1929, 110–17. This is a point made by Professor Richard Hoyle at the conference on frontier regions held in the Moore Institute, NUI Galway, in June 2012.

42 Calculated from TCD, MS 594, ff 18v-19v, 21v-22; BL, Royal MS 18C, XIV, ff 105-5v, 107v, 108v, 109; TNA, E 101/248, no. 21, SP 65/1, no. 2.

43 Parliament roll, 7 & 8 Edward IV c. 84 (*Stat. Ire. Edw. IV*, i, 644–9); BL, Royal MS 18C, XIV, f. 105; McNeill (ed.), *Archbishop Alen's Register*, 250–1.

Dundalk), in the marches. Newcastle barony had the highest percentage of land under tillage in the four shires, no less than 77.6 per cent by 1533. The barony included the manors of Saggart, Rathcoole, Newcastle Lyons and Esker, and the extensive tillage farming there meant in turn that the tenants lived in nucleated villages. For instance, the 1540–41 survey of crown lands listed thirty-one tenants in Esker in five townships, forty-eight tenants in Newcastle Lyons in ten townships, and twenty-seven tenants in Saggart in two townships. The size of the holdings varied, but typically the tenants are described as holding thirty or forty acres of arable and pasture.[44] The tenants were also obliged to do military service with weapons, horse and harness appropriate to their status and holding. So, individually, these manorial villages had no difficulty in repelling casual raiders and reivers. Tudor officials spoke approvingly of these English villages well organized for war. Chief Justice Luttrell, discussing different methods of defending the English Pale in 1537, asserted of the barony of Newcastle that

> thEnglyshe husbondes, inhabytauntes, and copye freholders therof, and ther greate and suer villages, with ther Englyshe bowes and bylles, have better defendeid the same marcheis … then eny other marche in this lande; and yett they lyve styll after an Englyshe sort and maner'.[45]

By contrast, the more precarious character of tillage in the marches was illustrated by the example of Cooley barony, Co. Louth , where land was converted to tillage on some scale soon after 1500, so that 9.7per cent of the land was then under tillage. Yet the Cooley peninsula lay in an isolated valley 'on the frontier of the marches', 'cut off from the rest of the county by high mountains and wooded passes as well as by the arm of the sea flowing backwards and forwards', and so was very vulnerable to Irish raids. By 1520, the barony's assessment had been reduced from 12¼ to 7 ploughlands and it was noted as all being in arrears with nothing collected, and in the aftermath of rebellion in 1534–35 Cooley lay totally waste.[46]

44 Mac Niocaill (ed.), *Crown Surveys of Lands*, 82–9, 92–9.

45 *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 11 vols., London, 1830–52, ii, 507.

46 *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausorum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, Dublin, 1828, 196a, no. 75; National Library of Ireland (NLI), MS 761, p. 328; TNA, SP 65/1, no. 2; Mac Niocaill (ed.), *Crown Surveys of Lands*, 75–7. There was no mention of Cooley when subsidy collectors were appointed for the traditional four baronies in Louth in 1499–1500: Memoranda roll, 15 Henry VII mm 2, 17 d (NAI, RC 8/43, pp. 164–4, 187). But it appeared as a separate barony both in Sir William Darcy's returns as receiver-general in 1501–2 and in the assessment of *c.*1502: NLI, MS 761, pp. 328–32; TCD, MS 594, f. 20. In Michaelmas term 1508, Nicholas White was appointed subsidy collector for Cooley: Memoranda roll, 24 Henry VII m. 5d (NAI, RC 8/43, p. 275). By 1520, the assessment for Cooley had been reduced to seven ploughlands: TNA E 101/248, no. 21.

IV

Overall, however, the increasing focus on tillage in the Pale maghery in early Tudor times is a strong indication of increased political stability and prosperity within the region. It is also supported by evidence for rising values of manors there which were crown possessions. In 1495–96, the four manors of Saggart, Newcastle Lyons, Esker and Crumlin, all in the Co. Dublin maghery, were worth no more than £123 13s 4d, but by 1501–02 the undertreasurer was accounting for £149 13s 4d for them, and in the crown surveys of 1540–41 they were valued at £173 14s 11¾d.[47] In Co. Meath, the crown also held the lordship of Trim, formerly belonging to Duke Richard of York. This consisted of a block of eleven manors. Trim itself and the manors of Ardmullan, Portlester, Ratoath, Kildalkey and Dunmowe, and Rathcore and Balskeagh were secure enough; but Moylagh, Belgard and Fore, and Diamore and Derver lay in the shire's northern marches, Castlerickard lay on the borders of O'Connor's country, and in the far south-west also near the frontier with O'Connor Faly's territory lay the sprawling, war-torn manor of Rathwire. In 1495, the best value of the lordship's eleven manors in recent years was no more than £228 13s 4d, but after 1534, when the manors were almost all in the king's hand again, their best value was estimated at £400 0s 6d.[48]

Concurrently with this growth of tillage focused on the Pale maghery, there also occurred a piecemeal expansion in the area under English rule. This expansion was focused on the marches by a process which saw wastelands reoccupied and integrated into the English Pale in the aftermath of the Gaelic Revival. In western Meath, for instance, the marcher baronies of Moygoish, Corkaree and Magheradernon had disappeared from assessments by the early fifteenth century, but in 1479 they were again assessed at sixteen ploughlands.[49] Beyond them lay a strip of territory which had once been the manors of Granard, Loughsewdy and Kilkenny West. While nominally still '*infra comitatem Midie*', this district had since been reduced to a sparsely inhabited waste, partly held by

47 BL, Royal MS 18C, XIV, ff 111, 116, 148v (summarised in Conway, *Henry VII's Relations*, 172, 188); NLI, MS 761, p. 327; Mac Niocaill (ed.), *Crown surveys of Lands*, 82–99.

48 BL, Royal MS 18C, XIV, ff 106, 108v, 110, 111, 112, 148v (summarised in Conway, *Henry VII's Relations*, 172, 188); Mac Niocaill (ed.), *Crown Surveys of Lands*, 52–75, 105–23. This figure includes £13 6s 8d for the manor of Diamor and Derver 'in ffrontura marchiarum', its value in 1495: BL, Royal MS 18C, XIV, f. 106. It was granted to Lord James Butler for life in 1529: Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, 6 vols, Dublin, 1932–43, iv, no. 130.

49 TCD, MS 594, f. 5v; BL, Royal MS 18C, XIV, ff 108v, 109.

minor Irish chiefs and partly by English marcher lineages such as the Dillons or Tyrrells '*ubi tamen breve domini regis non currit*'.[50] From the later fifteenth century, however, the earls of Kildare expanded into these districts, building up a rental which by 1534 yielded significant sums from these quondam manors beyond the south-western baronies, in Fartullagh, in Maghirquirke (now Kilkenny West) and in Kineleagh, amounting to over £75 a year in all.[51] Physically, too, Fartullagh had since been integrated into the Pale's frontier defences: a ditch had been erected, extending through Farbill, Carbury and into Meath as far as the Boyne.[52] And when the diocese of Meath was assessed for first fruits and twentieths *c.*1539, this new taxation included in the same district the rectories of Loughsewdy (valued at £16 per annum), Newton in Fartullagh (£2 3s 4d) and Rathconnartie (£13 15s 0d).[53] In summary, the strategy of constructing a frontier to defend the English districts was broadly successful: it facilitated the growth of tillage – a key marker of 'English civility' – in the Pale maghery; and it permitted the extension of English royal government into districts adjoining the marches. So, far from being a contracting remnant of a medieval march, the English Pale erected in the late fifteenth century constituted a new and moderately successful Tudor solution to a long-standing problem.

In the early Tudor period, however, these western districts on the borders of Meath remained outside the shire's formal baronial structure, so that the king's writs and process could not be executed there. The Act for the Division of Meath (1542), noting that Meath was 'great and large in circuit and the west part thereof laid about and beset with diverse of the king's rebels', observed that the king's writs and laws were disobeyed in several parts there 'for lack of [ad] ministration of justice' and that the sheriff was 'not able to execute the king's process and precepts [commands]'. Accordingly, the statute enacted that Meath should now be divided into two shires, Meath and Westmeath. The new Tudor shire of Meath was essentially that part of the medieval shire which lay within the bounds of the Pale maghery as fixed by the statute of 1477, viz. eleven bar-

50 Mac Niocaill (ed.), *Crown Surveys of Lands*, Dublin, 1992, 62, 126–7.

51 TNA, SP 60/5, ff 148-9 (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 21 vols, London, 1862–1932, xii (ii), no. 1317); Mac Niocaill (ed.), *Crown Surveys of Lands*, 126–9, 232–302 *passim*.

52 James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, Henry VIII to 18th Elizabeth*, Dublin, 1861, 319–20.

53 *Valor Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum in Hibernia*, Dublin, 1741, 3–5. The printed copy gives the taxation of Meath diocese as 31 Henry VIII (1539–40); the manuscript copy in TCD, MS 567, ff 3-4 gives the date as 30 Henry VIII (1538–9). The latter seems more likely.

onies, plus the eastern half of the barony of Fore which was now divided and constituted as an entire barony, making twelve baronies in all. The new Tudor shire also included twelve of the medieval shire's fourteen market towns and, with its commercial focus on labour-intensive cereal cultivation, was accounted 'as well inhabited as any shire in England'.[54] At the same time, the more thinly populated parts of western Meath in the Pale marches now became the shire of Westmeath. To this new shire was added the lands beyond the south-western baronies of English marcher lineages which were now erected into four new baronies: these were Fartullagh, Kilkenny West, Rathcomyrte (now Rathconrath) and Rossaughe (now Moycashel). The new shire of Westmeath thus had eleven baronies since, in addition to the six existing baronies in western Meath, the remaining half-barony of Fore likewise became an entire barony. Significantly, too, the new shire town was to be Mullingar. Eighty years earlier, Mullingar had been a beleaguered outpost in the extreme west which was periodically burned by the Irish.[55]

The creation of the shire of Westmeath within what was also officially described in the statute as 'the English Pale' thus crowned the success of this policy of erecting a frontier to defend English ground. It also rendered obsolete the region's earlier designation as 'the four shires'. The English Pale remained a frontier of contact, with substantial ties between English and Irish, but it was also a frontier of separation – a fortified frontier with guarded castles and towers, dikes and ditches – which allowed the Tudor regime more easily to regulate relations there between native and settler. The erection of this fortified frontier to defend English ground and the English nation against foreigners was of course not a new idea: earlier, a fortified frontier had likewise been successfully created in the English far north against the Scots. In this context, it is also a mistake to overlook the political terminology in which this international frontier between the two nations was described. Notwithstanding the significant levels of acculturation across the frontier (the 'degeneracy' of the marcher English, as crown officials frequently described it), the fact remains that two recognisably

54 Ellis, Region and frontier in the English state, in: Holm/Lægreid/Skorgen (eds.), *Borders of Europe*, 62; N.P. Canny, *The Formation of the Old English Elite*, Dublin, 1975, 9 (quotation).

55 Statute roll, 34 Henry VIII, session 1, c. 1 (*The Statutes at Large Passed in the Parliaments Held in Ireland*, 20 vols, Dublin, 1786–1801, i, 232–5. For the burning of Mullingar, see, for instance, A.M. Freeman, *Annála Connacht: The Annals of Connacht*, Dublin, 1970, 516–17, 524–5 (*sub annis* 1463, 1464); Art Cosgrove, Ireland beyond the Pale, 1399–1460, in: Cosgrove (ed.), *New history of Ireland. II Medieval Ireland*, 571–2.

separate nations still lived in the English Pale and the surrounding districts in early Tudor times. Whether born in Ireland or England, 'English subjects' enjoyed the same legal rights under the crown, which were denied to 'Irish enemies', despite the practice of overlooking the division, describing instead two categories of Irishmen. At another level, we may also note that the language deployed by Tudor officials in describing the English Pale was particularly rich in synonyms relating to frontiers and other kinds of territorial delineations: terms like 'border', 'frontier', 'march' and 'pale' had somewhat different nuances, and historians need to pay close attention to when they were used, and in what circumstances.[56] Finally, while the English rhetoric of difference was of course no more than rhetoric – although even this much is revealing of English attitudes to the Irish – it served a clear political purpose in consolidating the Pale population's English sense of identity against the savage 'other', in effect erecting a mental barrier ('*die Mauer im Kopf*') to match the physical and legal frontier on the ground.

56 Lud'a Klusáková/S.G. Ellis, Terms and concepts: 'frontier' and 'identity' in academic and popular usage, in: Lud'a Klusáková/S.G. Ellis (eds.), *Frontiers and Identities: Exploring the Research Area*, Pisa, 2006, 1–15, esp. 3.

Gerald Power

The English Pale as a Region in Later Tudor Ireland, 1541–1603

The present chapter explores the endurance into the early seventeenth century of the Irish frontier region known as the English Pale. As Steven Ellis in Chapter 3 demonstrates, the English Pale of the early sixteenth century was an important and distinctive region within the territories of the English crown. Encompassing the four medieval shires of Kildare, Dublin, Louth and Meath (divided into Meath and Westmeath in 1542), the Pale was an extensive tranche of eastern Ireland centred on Dublin, the chief town and bastion of Tudor government in Ireland. In addition to being the heartland of the administration, the English Pale was the region with the greatest concentration of English settlement in Ireland, being notable for the many noble and gentry families which its fertile soil sustained, and for the professionals and merchants who were employed in its major towns. Trade and the administration of property took place under the supervision of the royal central courts, based for the most part in Dublin, thus fixing local elites into the legal framework of the English state. The marches of the English Pale constituted an extended, militarized frontier between land and people subject to English authority and the neighbouring native Gaelic aristocracy and their territories. Although there were other centres and regions of English settlement in Ireland, the Pale was the most important from a Tudor perspective because it was the governmental core of the lordship of Ireland. Its major landowners were the lordship's prime defenders and traditionally supplied a great many of the crown's administrative and judicial servants. Its relative prosperity was essential to the economic wellbeing of the lordship.[1]

However, by the final years of Henry VIII's reign, the English Pale seemed to be on the verge of obsolescence. The division of the peoples and territory of Ireland into 'Englishry' and 'Irishry' had in theory been superseded by the

1 Steven G. Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors, 1447–1603: English Expansion and the End of Gaelic Rule*, London, 1998, 70–5; An English gentleman and his community: Sir William Darcy of Platten, in: Vincent P. Carey/Ute Lotz-Heumann (eds.), *Taking Sides? Confessional and Colonial Mentalités in Early Modern Ireland*, Dublin, 2003, 22–5. On the English Pale's significance in early Tudor times see, for instance, Patrick Finglas's tract of *c*.1528, 'A breviat of the getting of Ireland and of the decaie of the same ...' in Walter Harris (ed.), *Hibernia*, Dublin, 1770, 84.

erection of Ireland into a kingdom, after the passing of the 'Act for Kingly Title' by the Irish parliament in 1541. The Anglicization (or 'reformation', as the English called it) of the Gaelic elite and the wayward English aristocracy of Ireland was underway: within a few years many of the great regional lords had agreed to hold their lands of the king and to embrace English law and the Royal Supremacy. Moreover, several of these Gaelic lords had received English titles of nobility and lands within the English Pale as part of the redefinition of their relationships with the English crown. The chief governor threatened, and sometimes employed, forceful correction against those lords who were unwilling to reconcile themselves to the new order. In such a context, the English Pale as an enclave of English culture and loyalty was beginning to look redundant. Writing to Henry VIII from Dublin in March 1546, the king's council of Ireland reported on a land transformed. The Irishry, they claimed, 'more recognise and knowledge Your Majesty to be King of the Realm, and to be more conformable to Your Majesty ... then ever we knew them in our times'. The council predicted that, if Henry continued to take an interest in Ireland, 'then doubt we nothing, but it shall prosper, and, from time to time, increase in civility, obedience, and service to Your Majesty, to the honour of God, and Your Graces good contentacion'.[2] Things, it seems, were changing in Ireland.

Yet, as is well known, the aristocracy beyond the Pale did not make the smooth transition from enemies and rebels to the conformable subjects projected by the council, and a military conquest, ultimately completed under Queen Elizabeth, was necessary to end resistance to the extension of English rule. The Tudors' traumatic embroilment in Ireland forms the background to this chapter, which explores a somewhat less remarked upon aspect of later Tudor Ireland: the survival into the early seventeenth century of the English Pale as a distinct region.[3] Economically, the Pale continued to surpass many other regions in terms of development and prosperity, especially due to pervasive disorder and war in the surrounding regions. From a military perspective, the Pale boundaries remained a zone of violent conflict; frontier violence escalated in intensity as the sixteenth century progressed. Administratively, royal government in Ireland continued to treat the Pale as a separate region in a variety of contexts. However, it is not simply a case of continuity and the intensification of previously established trends. The final section of this chapter shows that,

2 *State Papers, Henry VIII*, 11 vols, London, 1830–52 (hereafter *S.P. Hen. VIII*), iii, 561.

3 This survival was remarked upon by the present author in Rhys Morgan/Gerald Power, Enduring borderlands: the marches of Ireland and Wales, in: Steven G. Ellis/Raingard Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers, Regions and Identities in Europe*, Pisa, 2009, 101–28, esp. 110–11.

in terms of the region's cultural identity, there was a real departure from early Tudor times, as the cultural characteristics and values of the Pale community became a source of heated debate between English-born critics and the Palesmen themselves. Ultimately both sides came to regard Pale identity as distinct from the identity of 'mainland' England.

I

The English Pale's economic distinctiveness in the early Tudor period was based on favourable geopolitical conditions: the region's fertile soil and relative security meant that more land was under the plough here than any other region in Ireland. Tillage farming was the economic and social foundation of a region that was, by Irish standards, densely populated. Surplus production of grain facilitated the growth and prosperity of the towns of the Pale, in particular Dublin and Drogheda. In turn, urban development had a real political significance: these towns could sustain a garrison over an extended period, thus facilitating English efforts at the subjugation of its opponents.[4] While it would be wildly inaccurate to dismiss the rest of the island as uncultivated and devoid of commercial activity,[5] many other districts were upland and boggy and so unsuitable for tillage farming; they were also far more prone to rapine or destruction by feuding lords' armed bands.

With certain qualifications, much the same can be said for the post-1541 period. Constitutional change could not alter the stark realities of land quality and climate. Extensive areas of bogland to the west of the Pale, and upland areas to the north and south, militated against a widespread expansion of tillage farming beyond the marches; instead such conditions encouraged the continuation of pastoralism and transhumance.[6] To be sure, arable farming was pursued in certain Gaelic districts where the soil was suitable and sufficient social peace prevailed. However, the commercial potential of these endeavours was restrict-

4 Nicholas P. Canny, *From Reformation to Restoration: Ireland, 1534–1600*, Dublin, 1987, 5–6; *S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 38.

5 On the extent of tillage beyond the Pale, see, for example, David Edwards, *The Ormond Lordship in County Kilkenny: The Rise and Fall of Butler Feudal Power, 1515–1640*, Dublin, 2003, 17–38; Kenneth W. Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn., Dublin, 2003, 132.

6 The 'failure' of the native Irish to embrace English-style land cultivation in discussed extensively in J. P. Montaño, *The Roots of English Colonialism in Ireland*, New York, 2011.

ed by inefficient methods and machinery; meanwhile, the staple cereal of many Gaelic districts (especially in Ulster), oats, was much less marketable than wheat or barley.[7] Later Tudor attempts at encouraging urban growth beyond the Pale and in the long-established coastal towns generally failed to fulfil expectations. These efforts were often part of colonization schemes, whereby English settlers, under the aegis of the state, took up residence on lands formerly held by rebels. The earliest such scheme, in the midlands to the west of the Pale, eventually included the conferring of borough status on two new towns, Philipstown and Maryborough, in 1569; however, both settlements remained little more than vulnerable border garrisons. A similar pattern is observable in Ulster: by 1603 there was little to indicate that province's later dramatic urban development. The situation in Munster was somewhat more promising: in addition to the established coastal towns, a handful of new or reinvigorated towns boasted populations in the low hundreds, buoyed by a lively trade with England in timber and agricultural produce.[8] However, any progress made was expunged dramatically when the plantation was destroyed in 1598 during the Nine Years War; the process of renewal was only beginning by 1603. Warfare – localized feuding and revolts but especially the pan-insular Nine Years War – was responsible in great measure for the chronic failure of the Irish provinces to achieve the desired level of prosperity associated with profitable agriculture and commercially active villages and towns. During the Nine Years War both the rebels and the viceroy led massive armies which tramped up and down the country devouring foodstuffs and destroying grain and cattle; both practised scorched earth policies that contributed to pervasive ruin and waste.[9] This damage left deep scars. Writing sixteen years after the conclusion of the Nine Years War, Luke Gernon lamented:

> when I look about [Ireland] I cannot but bewayle the desolation which cyvill rebellion hath procured. It lookes like the latter end of a feast. Here lyeth an old ruyned castle like

7 Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, 134; R.A. Butlin, Land and people, *c.*1600, in: T.W. Moody/F.X. Martin/F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A New History of Ireland*, iii: *Early Modern Ireland, 1534–1691*, 143, 150–1. Nicholas Canny points out that by the later 1580s there was considerable profit to be made from the by-products of pastoral farming – hides, wool and tallow – on the European market: *Making Ireland British, 1580–1640*, Oxford, 2001, 148.

8 Butlin, Land and people, 162; Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth-century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, Dublin, 1994, 183–4, 198, 235, 240, 282; A.J. Sheehan, Irish towns in a period of change, 1558–1625, in: Ciaran Brady/Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *Natives and Newcomers: Essays on the Making of Irish Colonial Society, 1541–1641*, Dublin, 1986, 111.

9 Sheehan, Irish towns, 111; Butlin, Land and people, 146–7.

> the remaynder of a venison pasty, there a broken forte like a minced py half subiected, and in another place an old abbey with some turrets standing like the carcase of a goose broken up.[10]

The ravages of war – in addition to perennial disadvantages such as poor terrain and deficient roads – has prompted one recent historian to conclude: 'Ireland in 1603 was far less "civilized" by English standards than it had been in 1534'.[11]

In such a context, the English Pale remained distinctive for its comparative wealth, with Counties Meath and Dublin leading the way. In early Elizabethan times Meath was described as being 'as well inhabited as any shire in England' – a state which can only betoken fertile land intensively cultivated.[12] Later, in 1583, it was asserted that 'there is no better land for so much together in any place than the five shires of the Pale and, whatsoever is said, is very well inhabited. There is not in these to the quantity of it any waste and no part altogether waste'.[13] Although the region was adversely affected by the strife and violence that characterized later Tudor Ireland – most notably from the heavy fiscal burden which was placed upon the Pale community by the government in order to support the royal army in Ireland – it seems that any decline was relative. In 1571 Rowland White, Lord Burghley's confidante and spokesman for the Pale aristocracy, depicted the English Pale as a cornucopia of material wealth, 'planted with towns and villages inhabited with people resident having goods cattles corn and household stuff'.[14] Six years later the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, insisted that the region was in a 'rich plentiful condition', when he reported to the queen.[15] The statements of both White and Sidney on the wealth of the Pale contain hyperbole. White wished to underline his violent rejection of Gaelic society by contrasting Gaelic lands with the English Pale: where Gaelic districts

10 Luke Gernon, A discourse of Ireland, anno 1620, in: Caesar Litton Falkiner (ed.), *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, Mainly of the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1904, 355–6, accessed via University College Cork's Corpus of Electronic Texts (hereafter, CELT): www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E620001/.

11 Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 50; see also Nicholls, *Gaelic and Gaelicised Ireland*, 131.

12 *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts Preserved in the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth, 1515–74* [etc.], 6 vols., London, 1867–73 (hereafter, *Cal. Carew MSS*), *1601–03*, no. 397; see also Nicholas P. Canny, *The Formation of the Old English Elite in Ireland*, Dublin, 1975, 9.

13 Anon., The state of Ireland, *c.*1576 National Archives of the United Kingdom, State Papers hereafter (T.N.A., S.P.) 63/56/62; Canny, *Formation of the Old English Elite*, 7.

14 Rowland White, 'The Dysorders of the Irisshery', 1571, ed. Nicholas P. Canny, in: *Studia Hibernica*, 19, 1979, 159.

15 *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland, 1509–73* [etc.], 24 vols., London, 1860–1912 (hereafter, *Cal. S.P. Ire.*), *1574–85*, 115.

were 'waste' and 'uninhabited', the Pale was ordered, cultivated and it boasted a material culture which Burghley – or any Elizabethan – would surely have approved of. Sidney, meanwhile, emphasized the region's prosperity in order to convince the queen that the Pale landowners were exaggerating the burden of military taxation (purveyance or 'cess') which his administration had imposed upon the local community. Nevertheless, even allowing for exaggeration, accounts of the prosperity of the English Pale are common enough in later Tudor times to warrant a broad acceptance of its distinctive economic condition. Ciaran Brady's analysis of the financial impact of cess on the Pale community provides highly detailed quantitative evidence of the Pale's economic supremacy. In one year alone (1561), food and lodging for the army to the tune of IR£20,975 were exacted from the Pale community. This was during a period in which Irish revenue totalled less than IR£6,000 per annum.[16]

Further evidence of the Pale's economic distinctiveness comes from many references to the desirability of acquiring lands there. Properties in the Pale granted to the great regional lords who submitted to the crown in the early 1540s (as part of the so-called 'surrender and regrant' policy) were capped at a modest IR£10 per annum, but evidently such grants were seen as a fairly secure source of income, with possibly very valuable fringe benefits associated with proximity to Dublin and other important towns. Writing in 1553, Lord Chancellor Cusack declared that the granting to Gaelic lords of lands 'by Dublin is such a gage upon them, as will not forfeit the same through wilful folly'.[17] Time and again in later Tudor times, the sovereigns dealt with requests for land in the Pale. These requests came not just from Gaelic lords, but also from crown servants who frequently requested property in the Pale as recompense for extended periods of sometimes erratically paid service.[18] The monarchs were reticent about making such grants, perhaps in part because a major scandal involving Henry VIII's undertreasurer making grossly undervalued leases of

16 Ciaran Brady, *The Chief Governors: The Rise and Fall of Reform Government in Tudor Ireland, 1536–1588*, Cambridge, 1994, 229; A. J. Sheehan, Irish revenues and English subventions, 1559–1622, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, 90 (1990), 45.

17 *Cal. Carew MSS, 1515–74*, no. 200.

18 A sample of these petitions includes: *Cal. Carew MSS, 1515–74*, no. 219; Wallop to Burghley, 5 November 1582. (T.N.A., S.P. 63/97/17); *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1574–85*, 412, 557, 590; James Morrin (ed.), *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, from the 18th to the 45th of Queen Elizabeth*, London, 1862, 397.

crown lands – many of which were in the Pale – had been uncovered fully in 1554.[19] The cheeseparing Elizabethan regime was sufficiently sensitive to the demand for land in the English Pale that the queen forbade her government in Dublin in 1567 from granting 'away any of our lands within our English Pale, and specially so nigh to our city [Dublin], in fee farm'.[20] This attitude contrasts with the prevailing Tudor attitude to the granting of Irish land: in the more remote districts, there was a willingness to make land available at deliberately generous terms in order to encourage trustworthy men to reside in dangerous or underdeveloped localities. Ironically, Tudor attempts at introducing civility and spreading English authority beyond the Pale by way of the 'planting' of English settlers only made Ireland more disordered. In these distressed conditions, the English Pale remained the kingdom's most prosperous region.

II

In early Tudor times the marches of the English Pale constituted a militarized frontier zone. The marches were dotted with towerhouses, dykes and ditches, designed to dissuade Gaelic raiding parties; the inhabitants of the region were expected to be able to take up weapons in defence of their lands and possessions. Subsidies were collected for the construction of defences; local scratch forces led by lords and gentlemen were raised to respond to Gaelic incursions. Frequent border warfare must have helped inculcate into contemporaries – English and Gaelic alike – that the marches of the English Pale formed a physical frontier separating rival ethnic groups.[21] After the sweeping reforms of the 1540s, this was meant to come to an end. The erstwhile 'Irish enemies' on the far side of the march were expected to become subjects of the crown and to embrace English modes of social organization and English law, upon which the entire kingdom was to become progressively demilitarised until it reached a state of peace and 'civility' comparable to lowland England. These things did not come to pass. Instead the very opposite transpired, as agreements between Gaelic lords and

19 Brady, *Chief Governors*, 33–40.

20 James Morrin (ed.) *Calendar of Patent and Close Rolls of Chancery in Ireland, Henry VIII to 18th Elizabeth*, London, 1861, 514.

21 Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 74–5; for the Gaelic perspective, see Christopher Maginn, Gaelic Ireland's English frontiers in the late middle ages, in: *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Section C, 110, 2010, 173–90.

dynasties and the English crown foundered, and representatives of the latter endorsed increasingly coercive means of reducing the Gaelic elite to conformity. In such circumstances, the military dimension of the Pale marches endured.

The marches continued to bear witness to Anglo-Gaelic hostility, often in the form of raiding.[22] As well as resulting from local rivalries and the frequently dysfunctional relations between Gaelic clans and the state, this was also a function of topography. Forest, bog and upland terrain afforded ample cover for mobile Gaelic soldiers and inhibited the reach of cumbersome English armies in less familiar territory. The landscape of later Tudor Ireland was not unchanging: in particular, there was a good deal of deforestation in Leinster during Tudor times. However, the district of Offaly to the west continued to be densely wooded down to the early seventeenth century. Moreover, other western districts remained boggy.[23] In 1553 the midland lordships to the west of the Pale were described as 'very strong countries for woods, moors, and bogs, by mean whereof much cattle was stolen out of the English Pale'. A decade later, a group of Pale aristocrats reported in a letter to Elizabeth that 'there hathe ben some hurtes done to thinglishe pale wh[ich]e (the bogges and woodes s[er]ving as they do) could not be avoided'.[24] To the south, the Dublin and Wicklow mountains harboured 'mountayne rebells' to the end of the Tudor period, while in the north rising terrain and rivers formed natural barriers that helped to make Ulster a bastion of Gaelic independence down to 1603.[25] The government's traditional solution to inaccessible Gaelic districts was to cut passes through the woods; provisions for the cutting of passes were inserted in many of the 'surrender and regrant' agreements with Gaelic lords. Conn O'Neill, for example, undertook in 1542 to cut down the forest between his Tyrone lordship 'and the borders of the English'.[26] But he does not seem to have complied: reports of impenetrable forests north of the Pale continue well into Elizabeth's

22 See, for example, Acts of the privy council in Ireland, 1556–71, ed. J.T. Gilbert, *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report*, appendix III, London, 1897 (hereafter, *Acts privy council. Ire., 1556–71*), 51.

23 Fynes Morrison, Description of Ireland, in: Litton Falkiner (ed.) *Illustrations of Irish history*, 225 (accessed via CELT, www.ucc.ie/celt/online/T100071.html); John Dymmok, *A Treatice of Ireland*, Dublin, 1842, 26. On forestation, see Kenneth W. Nicholls, Woodland cover in pre-modern Ireland, in: P.J. Duffy/David Edwards/Elizabeth Fitzpatrick (eds.), *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250–c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement*, Dublin, 2004, 181–206.

24 *Cal. Carew MSS, 1515–74*, no. 200; Lords and gentlemen of the Pale to Elizabeth, 18 October 1565 (T.N.A., S.P. 63/15/14).

25 Butlin, Land and people, 143; Dymmok, *Treatice*, 25, 27.

26 *Cal. Carew MSS, 1515–74*, no. 167.

reign; Lord Deputy Sussex's hosting north into Ulster in April 1563 began with a pass through the forests being cut by the Earl of Kildare, the baron of Howth 'and the men of Dublin'.[27] In any case, cutting passes was no guarantee that the royal army would enjoy consistent access to outlying areas: in 1598 both the administrator Geoffrey Fenton and the aristocrat-captain, Viscount Mountgarret, reported that, in Leinster and Ulster, rebels had gained control of passes and were successfully inhibiting communication and military progress.[28]

Moreover the continued existence of the Pale as a military frontier was reinforced in later Tudor times by the construction and repair of march defences. In June 1542, as Conn O'Neill took his place at the Irish parliament, the Irish council approved the Louth knight James Dowdall's plan to build 'a castle or garrison … on the borders and marches of the Irish' and concluded that Dowdall was to enjoy tax exemptions as well as an IR£10 subsidy from the county community towards the cost of the building.[29] Clearly, the unprecedented spectacle of Ulster's greatest Gaelic lord submitting before the deputy, attending parliament and preparing to visit the king in person was not enough for the government or for Pale marchers to abandon their fundamentally defensive attitude. In 1557 the Irish council and a County Kildare marcher lineage, the Berminghams, became locked in a dispute over the title to Kinnafad Castle. The council insisted that, 'lying on the frontier betwixt the English Pale and Offally ... there is present need of service to be done by the castle'. Similarly, Pale ditches in the marches were also retained; in some cases old disused ditches were restored. In 1553 John Parker was charged with repairing the ditch on the borders of Offaly, Kildare and Meath.[30] When the border town of Naas was granted a renewed royal charter in 1568, the corporation was required to undertake the 'reparation and fortification of the walls and ditches of the town'.[31] In 1599 Louth was described as having 'the most dangerous borderers and neighbors of any county, for it lyeth on the Mac Mahons in the county of Monaghan, vpon the O'Neiles of the Teenes and O'Hanlons of the county of Armagh. By means of whose incursion, the cuntry nearest vnto them lyeth waste'.[32] Physically the Pale marches remained a very real military frontier.

27 Ibid., no. 238.
28 *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1598–99*, pp. xxii, xliv.
29 Morrin (ed.) *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Henry VIII–Elizabeth*, 291.
30 Ibid., 320; see also *Acts Privy Council Ire., 1556–71*, 32.
31 Morrin (ed.) *Calendar Patent Rolls, Henry VIII–Elizabeth*, 527.
32 Dymmok, *Treatice*, 21; see also Christopher Maginn, *William Cecil, Ireland, and the Tudor State*, Oxford, 2012, 194.

In fact, the English Pale became increasingly militarised as the century wore on, as more soldiers were stationed within the region and along its borders. In the 1530s, an English garrison was stationed in the Pale; originally dispatched to suppress the Kildare rebellion, the garrison became a permanent fixture in the later Tudor Pale.[33] There were a variety of reasons for this development. The initiation of colonization schemes in the midlands and the north-east of Ulster necessitated a nearby garrison, as the new English outposts were prone to attack. The Irish council recorded in March 1557 that, because of 'wars at this present in Offaly', soldiers 'have occasion to pass and repass daily through the borders of the English pale'.[34] Plantation schemes also made the Pale a more vulnerable region because they heightened tensions between Gaelic lords and the English. During the ill-fated plantation project of the Earl of Essex in the north-east, Lord Burghley's agent in Ireland, Edmund Tremayne, was instructed to 'be careful to cause our English pale towards Ulster to be presently defended'.[35] Finally, the English Pale was a magnet for captains and their companies because of its settled conditions and plentiful supply of foodstuffs. It was the best billet in the kingdom, and reports of soldiers remaining in lodgings in the Pale instead of going to fight were very common in the later Tudor period.

Mutual raiding and occasional violent confrontations continued to take place across the ancient march throughout the sixteenth century; and the integrity of the borders remained a preoccupation for later Tudor government in the kingdom, which resorted to a variety of methods to preserve them. These measures ranged from lighting beacons in the tower houses of Meath, to permitting the summary killing of O'Byrne raiders, to more ambitious schemes including the introduction of military officials with judicial powers – seneschals – to supervise the conduct of clansmen in the Gaelic districts abutting the Pale.[36] The continued relevance of the Pale frontier peaked during the Nine Years War, when the rebel Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, and his army camped on the borders of Westmeath, before marching south to rendezvous with Philip II's troops at Kinsale. At the same time, there were reports that English soldiers had 'not much

33 For the Tudor army in Ireland, see Steven G. Ellis, The Tudors and the origins of the modern Irish state: a standing army, in: Thomas Bartlett/Keith Jeffery, *A Military History of Ireland*, Cambridge, 1996, 116–35; Ciaran Brady, The captains' games: army and society in Elizabethan Ireland, in: ibid., 136–59.

34 *Acts Privy Council Ire., 1556–71*, 33.

35 *Cal. Carew MSS, 1515–74*, no. 301.

36 *Acts Privy Council Ire., 1556–71*, 140–1, 147–8, 167; Lennon, *Sixteenth-century Ireland*, 195–6.

[less] consumed, impoverished, and annoyed the Pale than the traitors. The horse companies, in their passing through the same ... crossing the country to and fro, wasting with their lingering journeys the inhabitants' corn excessively with their horses, and their goods with their extortion'.[37] Thus, the English Pale remained a militarized frontier zone into the seventeenth century, although the character of warfare shifted. The largely localized cross-border raiding and skirmishing of early Tudor times gradually escalated into a grand struggle for control over the island, with the Pale and its garrison playing a vital role in the conflict.

III

In the later middle ages, the English Pale was synonymous with the limits of effective English government and law, and the fundamental priority of government was the preservation of the region. We cannot say quite the same thing of the Pale in later Tudor Ireland. Great efforts were made at penetrating English rule into the Gaelic districts, and the ambitions of government broadened immensely. When the later Tudors considered Ireland, they concerned themselves with a range of island-wide problems which in the past had only been considered spasmodically, if at all. When Elizabeth sent instructions to the Earl of Sussex in July 1559, no reference was made to the English Pale; instead the agenda was taken up by Ulster matters, the Scots settlers in that province, regional magnates and appointments within the Irish administration.[38] A great many of the queen's letters to Lord Deputy Sidney on Ireland from the 1560s and 1570s make no mention of the Pale; its position within the English territories could occasionally be taken for granted.[39]

Nevertheless, the five shires remained prominent in the concerns of Tudor sovereigns and their ministers throughout later Tudor times. This was, after all, the region described by Captain Thomas Lee in 1599/1600 as the 'harte' of the Irish kingdom (Connaught, meanwhile was designated the torso, Munster an arm and Ulster a leg, 'full of Canker and Corruption').[40] The security of the Pale continued to be a preoccupation of both London and Dublin. In October 1562

37 Quoted in Butlin, Land and people, 147.
38 *Cal. Carew MSS, 1515–74*, no. 220.
39 See, for example, D.B. Quinn (ed.), Additional Sidney state papers, 1566–70, in: *Analecta Hibernica*, 26, 1970, 90–102.
40 Thomas Lee, The discovery and recovery of Ireland, with the author's apology (accessed via CELT, www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E590001-005/text004.html).

the council of Ireland directed that soldiers be dispatched to protect the Pale, 'to her majesty's honor and the surety of the realm'.[41] In April and August 1574 William Fitzwilliam was ordered by the English privy council to look to the defence of the region.[42] In 1597 Elizabeth appointed Adam Loftus to oversee martial law in the Pale, which the sovereign referred to as 'our garden … to be preserved from all noysome weeds, spoils, and disorders'.[43]

The English Pale was routinely administered separately from the rest of the kingdom, most frequently when it came to defence and warfare. The traditional institution for lengthy offensive military operations, the general hosting or 'rising out', continued throughout later Tudor times to be largely composed of Palesmen, with the gathering of landowners at Tara followed by the journey north into Gaelic Ulster by way of Ardbracken or west into the midlands by way of Carbury. The government levied purveyance, or cess, the tax in kind for the maintenance of the army, on the Pale shires with far greater frequency and to a far greater extent than on other regions within the kingdom.[44] When the heavy burden of the cess provoked protest by Pale aristocrats, it was the Pale community with which the chief governor and council dealt. When the government attempted to introduce a monetary tax ('composition') in place of the cess in 1578, it consulted 'with the Nobility, Knights, and Gentlemen of the English Pale', while the gentry of the neighbouring shire, Queen's County, petitioned that they be excluded.[45] When Lord Deputy Perrot revived the composition idea in the mid-1580s, a special agreement was made with the Pale landowners, leaving the governor to make other arrangements with other districts.[46]

In a range of other areas, the government of Ireland handled the Pale as a separate region. During the absence of the chief governor and main army, special commissions were given to aristocrats for government in the five shires.[47] Periodically, attempts were made by the executive to restrict contact between Palesmen and Gaelic clans and to preserve the region from Gaelic influence. The Irish council repeatedly made proclamations forbidding the sale of grain

41 *Acts Privy Council, Ire., 1556–71*, 127.
42 *Cal. Carew MSS, 1515–74*, nos. 320, 332.
43 Morrin (ed.), *Calendar Patent Rolls, Elizabeth*, 434.
44 For more on this, see Brady, *Chief Governors*, ch. 6; see also Gerald Power, *A European Frontier Elite: The Nobility of the English Pale in Tudor Ireland, 1496–1566*, Hannover, 2012, ch. 5.
45 *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1574–85*, 138, 144.
46 Morrin (ed.), *Calendar Patent Rolls, Elizabeth*, 103; Ellis, *Ireland in the Age of the Tudors*, 323.
47 See, for example, *Acts Privy Council, Ire. 1556–71*, 447, 457.

beyond the Pale into the surrounding Gaelic districts; in 1560 it forbade the selling of horses outside the five shires.[48] Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam reportedly 'entered into a very good course of execution of idle men in the Pale' in the winter of 1574–75.[49] Attempts were made by the government to restrict the Pale to Englishmen. As was customary, special arrangements could be made for certain Gaelic people: Phelim Roe O'Neill, for instance, was permitted by the Irish council to 'come and go within the English pale as a subject and as a neighbour'.[50] In sixteenth-century Ireland this kind of border policing was easier said than done; nonetheless the government's repeated attempts at preserving the English Pale attests to the region's continued importance in Elizabethan times.

In a departure from early Tudor norms, later Tudor administrators could be inconsistent in their geographical definitions of the English Pale. Occasionally, government records list other counties of Leinster as part of the Pale. In 1564 martial law was imposed 'for the quiet and surety of the English Pale': included in the commission were the customary five shires, but also Counties Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Waterford, Queen's County, King's County 'and the Yrish contrees adjoyninge', and the territories of the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles in Wicklow.[51] Thirty years later, Thomas, Earl of Ormond, was given a commission to exercise martial law in the Pale, which was defined as 'six counties': Wexford, Kilkenny, Queen's County, Carlow, Dublin and Kildare – just two of the traditional shires were included.[52] Later in the same document, the region is referred to as 'Leinster' and 'the province'. It is unclear why deviations like these occurred. It could simply be clerical absentmindedness. It is also possible that the authorities could deliberately adopt a flexible definition of the Pale, and were willing to apply it more generally to counties and districts in eastern Ireland over which they exerted control.

Of course, establishing really thorough 'control' over outlying districts in Ireland was easier said than done: simply appointing seneschals and creating shires was not the same as transforming local political and social arrangements from Gaelic to English.[53] Indeed, such was the slow progress in establishing an effective shire system in Ireland that, well into the seventeenth century, observers identified the English Pale in terms of its traditional, restricted, territorial

48 Ibid., 20, 44, 108, 84.
49 *Cal. S.P. Hen. VIII, 1574–85*, p. xxix.
50 *Cal. Carew MSS, 1515–74*, no. 202.
51 *Acts Privy Council Ire., 1556–71*, 137–9.
52 Morrin (ed.), *Calendar Patent Rolls, Elizabeth*, 281–2.
53 For this problem, see Maginn, *Cecil*, ch. 8.

extent. In 1622 the lords justices gave a licence for the levying of 300 men 'within the Pale or near to the borders thereof'.[54] As late as the interregnum, the Dutch physician and author of a natural history of Ireland, Gerard Boate, remarked on the continuing use of the term 'English Pale'. Boate noted that:

> although since the beginning of this present age, and since King James his comming to the Crown of England, the whole Iland was reduced under the obedience and government of the English lawes, and replenished with Englishe and Scotch Colonies; nevertheless the name of English Pale, which in the old signification was now out of season, remained in use, and is so still.[55]

IV

As a cultural entity, the English Pale had a very firm definition in early Tudor times: in English eyes the region was a haven of obedience and civility in a land where such prized characteristics had either failed to take root or else had been marred by 'wild Irish' influence. In the early sixteenth century, the Pale was not only seen as something to be protected in the interests of the English state: it was seen as having an important role to play in the conversion of the Gaelic elite to obedience and civility. The anonymous author of a long tract on the 'Reformation' of Ireland of *c.*1515 recommended that the Irish be civilised by having their sons sent 'to Dublyn or to Drogheda, or to some other Englyshe towne, to lerne to wryte and rede, and to speke Englyshe, to lerne also the draught and maners of Englyshe men'.[56] Henry VIII himself declared that Gaelic lords who participated in 'surrender and regrant' should send their heirs to the English Pale or England, to learn the English language and to wear English apparel.[57] The Pale community was loud in asserting its English identity, and outsiders were largely in agreement. The court physician and self-styled expert on foreign travel, Andrew Boorde, remarked in the 1540s that 'I did never finde more amite and love than I have found of Irishe men the which was borne within y^{e} english pale. And in my lyfe I dyd never know more faythfuller men & parfyt livers than I have knowen of them.'[58]

54 *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615–1625*, 363.
55 Gerard Boate, *Irelands Natvrall History …*, London, 1652, 7–8.
56 *S.P. Hen. VIII*, ii, 30 as quoted in Montaño, *English colonialism*, 77.
57 *S.P. Hen. VIII*, iii, 328.
58 Andrew Boorde, *The Introduction to the Fyrste Boke of Knowledge*, London, 1542; reprint, London, 1814, Sig. F 4.

Later Tudor commentators continued to refer to the region's uniquely English character and its potential role in spreading civility among the Gaelic aristocracy. In 1561 the Irish council ordered that O'More clansmen be sent to Oxford for three years, and then to 'some other convenient stay of living within the English Pale'.[59] When Elizabeth appointed her new clerk of the common pleas in Ireland in 1588, the patent referred to the appointee's 'having left his quiet and civil habitation in the English pale, and made his dwelling in [Cavan] … meaning to induce and persuade the rude inhabitants of those parts … to a more humane, sure, and gainful trade of life'.[60] Meanwhile, the London audiences at Marlowe's *Edward II* (published 1594) clearly understood the dire cultural and political implications of that play's reference to 'The wylde Oneyle, with swarms of Irish kerns / Liv[ing] uncontrol'd within the English Pale'.[61] When later Elizabethans, some inspired by Classical Greece and Rome, evinced an interest in English colonization as a means of imposing order and obedience, civility and cultivation into 'savage' lands, they saw the Pale as a colonial model. Geoffrey Fenton recommended in 1583 that Munster be converted into 'an English Pale', and two years later described Munster as 'a country as it were regenerate and born of new ... to be translated from an Irish government to an English Pale'.[62] When the Longford plantation was being considered in 1618, the lord deputy recommended the allotment of small clusters of estates, 'after the ancient manner of planting Irish countries, as may appear by the multitude of castles in the English Pale ... and all the countries where the Old English do yet keep their footing'.[63]

In spite of this, there was deep and growing divergence in terms of attitude towards the value of Pale culture, in particular between Pale natives and the so-called 'New English' (men of English birth who were employed in Ireland).[64] Although New Englishmen like the aforementioned Fenton advocated the creation of new Pales in Ireland, their esteem for the original Pale was tempered by the profound flaws which they identified in Pale society – flaws which, it was

59 *Acts Privy Council, Ire., 1556–71*, 114.
60 Morrin (ed.), *Calendar Patent Rolls, Elizabeth*, 143–4.
61 Isaac Reed/R. Dodsely (eds.), *A Select Collection of Old Plays*, 12 vols., London, 1725, ii, 347–8.
62 Fenton to Burghley, 6 December 1583 (T.N.A., S.P. 63/106/4); Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 132.
63 *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615–1625*, 230.
64 See Gerald Power, Migration and identity in early modern Ireland: the New English and the Pale community, in: Steven G. Ellis/Lud'a Klusáková (eds.), *Imagining Frontiers, Contesting Identities*, Pisa, 2007, 243–62.

sometimes alleged, amounted to the abandonment by the Palesmen of their English heritage. Newcomers from England denounced in particular the reluctance of the Palesmen to embrace Protestantism; the refusal of the Palesmen to acquiesce in government policies; and the apparent Gaelic sympathies of many Palesmen, a kind of degeneracy which the New English commonly ascribed to centuries of habitual cross-border contact between Gaelic people and Pale inhabitants. Such condemnations became increasingly vitriolic as Elizabeth's reign wore on. The growth of a Tridentine Catholic tradition within the English Pale and the raising of rebellion by members of two prominent local dynasties in 1580–81 were especially influential here.[65] After the Baltinglass and Nugent revolts, accounts of the Pale community by New Englishmen went so far as to associate Palesmen with the kind of savagery and disobedience customarily reserved for the 'wild Irish'. The lords justice Adam Loftus and Henry Wallop, for instance, referred to Pale inhabitants as 'beastly' because of their strange diet.[66] Some accounts even inverted the ancient dichotomy of English obedience and Gaelic rebelliousness, casting Gaelic natives as pliable and good-natured, while reserving their contempt for the Pale community. Archbishop Long of Armagh reported in June 1585 that his preaching tour among the O'Reillys had been warmly received by the locals, and reflected: 'I wished hartely that mannye in the English Pale (nearer government) had like harts and like zeale'.[67] After the fractious Irish parliament of 1585 Francis Walsingham was informed that 'the Irish of the remote parts have returned worse affected than they came' because they had witnessed at first hand opposition to the government from English subjects from the five shires, a point echoed by the chief governor, Perrot, who characterized as 'perverse' the 'people of the pale & borders' for not approving the government's legislative programme in parliament.[68] By the close of the Tudor age, the stock English perception of the Pale community had undergone a

65 The best treatment of this issue remains Ciaran Brady, Conservative subversives: the community of the Pale and the Dublin administration, 1556–86, in: P.J. Corish (ed.), *Radicals, Rebels and Establishments, Historical Studies XV*, Belfast, 1985, 11–32.

66 According to the lords justice, 'this people [of Ireland] ... not onely upon the borders where waste may drive them to yt, but even here in the pale, and in the cytties where they are not so sore oppressed, will alwaies eate the carkasses of any cattell or of their garans [horses] that dye, be they never so lothsome to civill people.' *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1574–85*, 416.

67 *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1574–85*, p. cxxv.

68 Ibid., 569; Perrot to Walsingham, 30 May 1585 (T.N.A., S.P. 63/116/69); see also Perrot to Burghley, 10 June 1585 (T.N.A., S.P. 63/117/14). The same sentiment that Palesmen's defiance had infected the Gaelic lords who attended parliament is articulated in Edward Waterhouse to Walsingham, 18 June 1585 (T.N.A., S.P. 63/17/39).

major alteration from the positive affirmations of Andrew Boorde in the 1540s. John Dymmok's *Treatice of Ireland* (1599) referred to cross-border cultural and political contacts as 'the only cause of the weakening of the English pale, and of so many degenerate English at this present'.[69]

These Elizabethan criticisms formed part of a debate on the merits of the Pale and its inhabitants: Pale natives responded with passionate defences of their region and its culture.[70] This was a somewhat ironic development, given the fact that before 1541 the Pale community was remarkable for its internal discord. In early Tudor times, it was not uncommon for gentlemen from the sheltered, inner section of the Pale to criticize the marcher lords and gentlemen for taking on Gaelic tenants and Gaelic military and estate management practices. However, as executive government in Ireland became increasingly dominated by a New English grouping which favoured a large military establishment to help spearhead a forceful extension of government authority, Palesmen tended to coalesce. They aimed at resisting the twin evils which were threatening them: the dilution of their influence on government and the intolerable economic burden associated with a garrison billeted in their midst.[71] Individuals and groups of Palesmen bombarded the Elizabethan court with letters, petitions and treatises aimed at convincing the queen and her ministers that the evils which threatened the English Pale were also bad policy. As part of their arguments, the Pale elite developed a coherent sense of identity, which was firmly rooted in the region they inhabited, and which stressed their exclusivity. Pale writers addressing officials in England with tracts and treatises included historical accounts of the region, which exaggerated the antiquity of the Pale; they emphasized the Englishness and loyalty of the inhabitants, which they contrasted with the disobedience, incivility and, sometimes, the immorality of the neighbouring Irishry.[72] These tracts asserted the continued usefulness of this heritage to the Elizabethan kingdom of Ireland, and warned that the burden of the garrison

69 Dymmok, *Treatice of Ireland*, 6.

70 For the following paragraph, cf. Morgan/Power, Enduring borderlands, 117–20.

71 For more on this, see Valerie McGowan-Doyle, *The Book of Howth: Elizabethan Conquest and the Old English*, Cork, 2011.

72 See, for example, Richard Stanihurst's Description of Ireland in Raphael Holinshed, *The Chronicles ... of England, Scotlande and Irelande ...*, ed. Henry Ellis, 6 vols., 1807–8, vi, 3–4, 66–7; White, 'Dysorders of the Irisshery'; Anon, The greevences of the Englishe Pale, *c.*1597 (accessed via CELT: www.ucc.ie/celt/published/E590001-006/index.html); see also Steven G. Ellis, Defending English ground: Tudor frontiers in history and historiography, in: Steven G. Ellis/Raingard Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500–1850*, Hannover, 2006, 84–5.

threatened to retard Anglicisation by impoverishing and depopulating the Pale. Lord Burghley's Pale correspondent, Nicholas White – in a deliberate attack on the militaristic government favoured by the New English – claimed that 'the seed of English blood [in the Pale] is a strong garrison for the crown, without pay'.[73] Another of Burghley's informants from the five shires revived the idea that English civility would be advanced if Gaelic landowners were compelled to send their heirs either to court or to 'the inglish pale of Irlande, till they speke the englishe tonge and be letteryed ... whearby in feww discents they shalbe com cyvill'.[74] A sense of cohesive regional identity continued well into Stuart times, and Pale nobles and gentry continued to assemble to discuss common problems and to articulate a common outlook in their contacts with the royal court.[75]

The Elizabethan controversy surrounding the relationship between Pale identity and English identity, and the formation of a specific and widely recognized Pale political and cultural attitude, encouraged a shift in the way the English Pale was defined. To an early Tudor observer, the term 'English Pale' was understood primarily as a territory. Early Tudor references to residents of the Pale took forms like 'the inhabitantes of theise 4 shires', 'the rewlars of the Englyche pale', 'the people of the Engliche pale', the 'lordes of these 4 shyres', 'the power of the English pale' and so on.[76] However, Elizabethans understood the same term to refer to the residents of the region as well as to the residents' territory. Elizabethan observers made frequent reference to the 'complaints of the Pale' and the 'miseries of the Pale'. An official remarked in 1582 that a less bellicose Anglicisation strategy was popular with 'the Irishry, with the English Pale, yea the very children of the street'.[77] In 1583 the former lord deputy, Henry Sidney, reflected on his campaigns in Ireland in 1569, when 'so mighty were the rebels; so tickle was the English Pale ... and so small a company were we'.[78] The use of this kind of nomenclature, alongside traditional forms such as 'inhabitants of the Pale' and other recently coined forms such as 'commonwealth men', 'countrymen' and 'Pale men', suggests that the Pale community partook

73 *Cal. S.P. 1574–85*, 336; for White, see Maginn, *Cecil, Ireland, and the Tudor State*, 71–4.
74 Nicholas Taaffe to Burghley, 31 April 1585 (T.N.A., S.P. 63/116/31).
75 See, for example, *Cal. S.P. Ire., 1615–1625*, 440–3, 506.
76 Power, *European Frontier Elite*, 78, 83, 84, 86, 100.
77 Thomas Jenyson to Burghley, 15 January 1582 (T.N.A., S.P. 63/88/29); Canny, *Making Ireland British*, 123.
78 Ciaran Brady, *A Viceroy's Vindication? Sir Henry Sidney's Memoir of Service in Ireland*, Cork, 2002, 67, quoted in Rory Rapple, *Martial Power and Elizabethan Political Culture: Military Men in England and Ireland, 1558–1594*, Cambridge, 2009, 149. 'Tickle' probably meant difficult or uncertain: see *Oxford English Dictionary*.

of a sharper and stronger sense of regional identity as the Elizabethan period progressed.[79] While early Tudor observers equated Pale identity with a broader sense of English identity based on common culture and legal status, Elizabethans saw Pale identity as something much more territorially specific, not just within Ireland but within the broader English territories. Just as English national identity in the sixteenth century became increasingly associated with the geographical limits of the English kingdom to the exclusion of the English of Ireland, so the geographical limits of the English Pale came to designate the boundaries of an increasingly distinctive colonial community.[80]

V

Thus, despite the erection of Ireland into a unitary kingdom in 1541, and the attendant hopes for a uniformly obedient and 'civilized' Ireland, the English Pale did not assimilate into the rest of the kingdom of Ireland. From a socio-economic perspective, the English Pale remained distinctive because of its relatively peaceful social conditions and fertile soil that made it pre-eminent in terms of the volume of tillage farming and in terms of urban and commercial development. The Pale marches remained a military frontier due to the hostile relations between the Dublin-based royal government and many of the surrounding Gaelic lordships, and because of the presence of many English soldiers in the borders. The Pale continued to be administered separately in a variety of contexts, although the territorial definition of the region sometimes expanded beyond its customary early Tudor limits. Finally, the region's comparatively large population of English landowners – a community with a cohesive sense of regional identity – helped to ensure that the Pale remained culturally distinctive in terms of Ireland and the wider Tudor territories, although there was sharp disagreement between New Englishmen and Palesmen over the value of the region's culture.

79 Perrot to Walsingham, 12 January 1586 (T.N.A., S.P. 63/122/24); Brady, *Chief Governors*, 238–9.

80 Steven G. Ellis, Religion and national identity in early modern Ireland, in: Ausma Cimdiņa (ed.) *Religion and Political Change in Europe: Past and Present*, Pisa, 2006, 60; for the most recent extensive treatment of the later Elizabethan Pale, see Ruth Canning, War, identity and the Pale: the Old English and the 1590s crisis in Ireland, PhD dissertation, University College Cork, 2011. I am grateful to Dr Canning and to Dr Joseph Mannion for commenting on this paper.

The endurance of the English Pale is paradoxical because, in many ways, later Tudor Ireland was becoming increasingly uniform. English counties were carved out of former Gaelic districts; English settlement and military presence expanded far beyond its early Tudor limits; English common law and the sovereign's writ penetrated to districts previously impervious to such interventions and commands. At the same time, Tridentine-influenced Catholicism had begun to penetrate many towns and aristocratic households, and notions of an Irish nation based on Catholicism and embracing both Gaelic and the local English communities had begun to take tentative root among some clergy and a small number of radical aristocrats. Given such developments, the continued importance of the English Pale is somewhat remarkable. In the midst of European early modern state formation, therefore, some old regions died hard.

Andy Sargent

A Region for the 'Wrong' Reasons

The Far North-West in Early Modern England

Some time has passed since historians were interested in only the grand narratives surrounding the birth of nations. However, in English historical accounts there is often a bias towards state formation narratives which focus on the lowland centre of English power and ignore the fact that the English state was, and still is in many ways, made up of several regional entities.[1] Despite the fact that England and then Britain and the United Kingdom were unified states before many continental counterparts, there is not one homogeneous history of England or Britain. England's history is, in fact, a history of many regional entities. It was never inevitable that all of the diverse regions of Britain's territory would emerge as a unified state; however, that is what happened (with some notable exceptions).[2] In a recent move, designed to bring uniformity to European governmental administration, the North-West of England was raised to the status of a European and United Kingdom governmental region. The UK was divided into nine such regions in rather arbitrary fashion. However, although some of the regions may align themselves somewhat to regional variances in culture, geography or function, it is clear that the area designated as the North-West region does not. The

1 Steven G. Ellis, The concept of British History, in: Ellis/Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest & Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725*, Harlow, 1995, 1–8; John Morrill, The fashioning of Britain, in: ibid., 8–39; John G.A. Pocock, *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History*, Cambridge, 2005, 26–33.

2 Ellis, Frontiers and identities in the historiography of the British Isles, in: Lud'a Klusáková/Ellis (eds.), *Frontiers and Identities: Exploring the Research Area*, Pisa, 2006, 67–86; Ellis, The concept of British history, 1–8; Morrill, The fashioning of britain, 8–39; Ellis, Tudor state formation and the shaping of the British Isles, in: Ellis/Barber (eds.), *Conquest & Union*, 40–63; Gerald Power, *A European Frontier Elite: The Nobility of the English Pale in Tudor Ireland, 1496–1566*, Hannover, 2012, esp. 17–43; Raingard Esser, *The Politics of Memory: The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-Century Low Countries*, Leiden, 2012. See also, Glenn Burgess (ed.), *The New British History: Founding a Modern State, 1603–1715,* London, 1999; John Tomaney, In search of English regionalism: the case of the north east, in: *Scottish Affairs* 28, summer, 1999, 62–82. See also, Christopher Harvie, English regionalism: the dog that never barked, in: Bernard Crick (ed.), *National Identities: The Constitution of the United Kingdom*, Oxford, 1991, 105–18. The main exception is, of course, The Republic of Ireland which was part of the English state during the early modern period.

North-West region, designated under this legislation includes Cumbria and the former border territory of the far North-West but also includes Manchester and Liverpool.[3] Manchester and Liverpool have little in common with each other culturally or otherwise, let alone with somewhere like Carlisle.[4] The region created by this administrative division must be considered as something convenient for statistical purposes, rather than representing any physical or cultural entity or even theoretical aspiration. The coalition government announced that it would abolish the nine Regional Development Agencies in 2010, almost immediately upon their election. In 2012 the last vestiges of the Agencies were closed, showing how regions can be solely political constructs that can be added or taken away at will, seemingly at the stroke of an administrator's pen.[5] However, these political regions are political constructs only – geography, culture, economy and society within and without a region are historical factors which inform a regional identity.

There are different theories regarding regions, but there are some ways that regions can be defined where most theories would be in agreement. A region can perhaps be best defined by its distinctive function in relation to a state as a whole and the distinctive identity of its inhabitants. Regional identity can be reinforced by the perception of its inhabitants and onlookers as being somehow different and distinctive from others within a state: certain cultural differences may exist. A region must be recognisable and relatively well-defined: it should be a geographic and cultural entity clearly differentiated from other areas. [6] Eco-

3 European Commission (Eurostat), *Regions in the European Union: Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics, NUTS 2010/EU-27*, Luxembourg, 2011, esp. 128–37; see also John K. Walton, Imagining regions in comparative perspective: the strange birth of North-West England, in: Bill Lancaster/Diana Newton/Natasha Vall (eds.), *An Agenda for Regional History*, Newcastle, 2007, 289–302.

4 Iain Deas/Benito Giordano, Regions, city-regions, identity and institution building: contemporary experiences of the scalar turn in Italy and England in: *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 25, 2, 2003, 225–246, 237. See also Charles Dellheim, Imagining England: Victorian views of the North, in: *Northern History*, 22, 1986, 216–30.

5 Regional Development Agencies, available at www.politics.co.uk/reference/regional-development-agencies (accessed 2 January 2013).

6 Definitions of regions need to have a degree of flexibility, making a specific overall definition of a region rather difficult. In particular, see Louise Fawcett, Exploring regional domains: a comparative history of regionalism, in: *International Affairs*, 80, 3, 2004, 429–46. See also, Eric Storm, Regionalism in history, 1890–1945: the cultural approach, in: *European History Quarterly*, 33, 2, 2003, 251–67. For work specific to English regions see Charles Phythian-Adams, Differentiating provincial societies in English history: spatial contexts and cultural processes, in: Lancaster/Newton/Vall (eds.), *An Agenda for Regional History*, 3–22, esp. 8–9. See also Matt Holford, The North and the dynamics of regional identity in later medieval England, in: ibid., 303–16; Helen M. Jewell, North and South: the antiquity of the great divide in: *Northern History*, 27, 1991, 1–25.

nomic differences can inform regional identity as Wallerstein's theory of core and peripheral economic regions suggests.[7] Thus, there are many recognized distinctive regions within modern Britain, most emerging due to modern day significance or historical differences that have been nurtured and maintained by society at large. Perhaps most in England would recognize the 'Geordie' accent as being of a person from the North-East – one of the more distinctive and recognisable regions of Britain.[8] This same North-East, however, is largely a modern-day construct, emerging from Britain's industrial era. By the mid-nineteenth century the North-East had developed into one of the most productive and industrialized regions in the world: its position within an expanding empire made it a far more distinctive, and powerful, region than ever before.[9]

The North-East then is relatively strongly defined; it has many urban centres such as Newcastle which have had a common function over preceding centuries, largely industrial urban complexes. Liverpool, when considered part of a north-western region, certainly rivals Newcastle or Durham, but it has nothing in common with somewhere like Carlisle. Carlisle is part of a border region and far less urbanized than Liverpool. In terms of population, Liverpool would seem to have much in common with Manchester[10] and the two cities sprang up largely during the modern period. They both grew out of industrial towns and are geographically close[11] and so seem to be parts of a contiguous region; however, they cannot be considered culturally connected.[12] Both of these cities, however, are in the North-West region as designated by the European Commission. This really highlights the difficulty in defining or delineating the North-West of England

7 Immanuel M. Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy: Essays by Immanuel Wallerstein*, New York, 1979.

8 Bill Lancaster, The North East, England's most distinctive region?, in: Lancaster/Newton/Vall (eds.), *An Agenda for Regional History*, 23–42.

9 Tomaney, In search of English regionalism, 62–7; Norman McCord, *North East England, 1750–1960*, London, 1978; McCord, The regional identity of north-east England in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in: Edward Royle (ed.) *Issues of Regional Identity*: *In honour of John Marshall*, Manchester, 1998, 102–17. For a discussion and sometimes alternative view, see Adrian Green/Anthony J. Pollard (eds.), *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300–2000*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2007.

10 Carlisle City Council, www.carlisle.gov.uk/planning_and_buildings/localism_in_action_%E2%80%93_for_rural/september_2012/census_release.aspx (accessed May 2013); for Liverpool and Manchester population statistics, see Liverpool City Council, http://liverpool.gov.uk/council/key-statistics-and-data/data/population/ (accessed May 2013).

11 Jon Stobart, *The First Industrial Region: North West England C.1700–60,* Manchester, 2004, 6.

12 See note 4.

from any other English region; or, indeed, the difficulties associated with defining it as a modern region.[13] The North-West of England today has little claim to regional significance, despite governmental reform, and pales in comparison to its distinctive eastern neighbour.[14] Whilst many historical accounts demonstrate that North-Eastern identity and regionalism pre-date even the early modern period, the North-West lacks a cohesive regional identity.[15] Nevertheless, within a hard-to-define greater North-West region, the far North-West, designated the 'West March', had a distinctive historical identity, particularly in the sixteenth century when factors of culture, society, administration, politics, economics and geography combined to make the far North-West a strong regional entity.

The process of regionalization of the far North-West may perhaps be dated to the delineation of the whole of the north, as one frontier region, symbolized by Hadrian's Wall in Roman *Britannia* and the *Harrying of the North* during the Norman Conquest. This process became clearer and geographic and cultural differences more nuanced over the following centuries.[16] As the ancient petty kingdoms disappeared and the kingdoms of Wales, England and Scotland emerged so too did borders and frontiers develop. In the thirteenth century the Anglo-Scottish borders became divided into six marches: the Scottish East, Middle and West March; and the English East, Middle and West March. The English West March contained most of the ancient kingdom of Cumbria (after the Scots relinquished their claim): strictly, it comprised Cumberland north of the River Derwent and the barony of Westmorland.[17] On its western frontier, the English West March rested against the

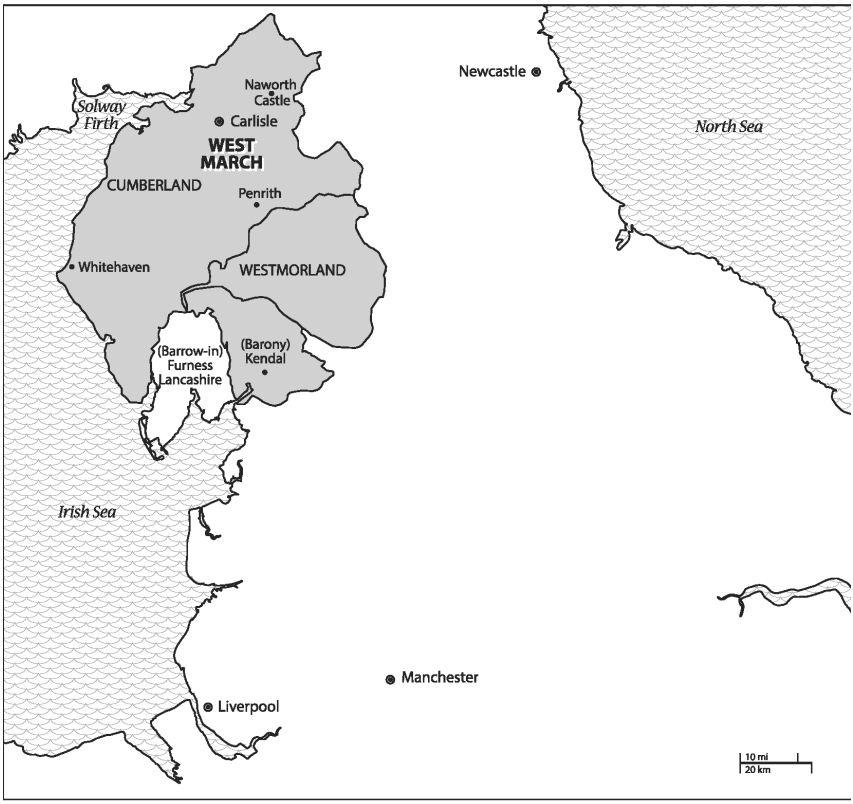
13 Walton, Imagining regions in comparative perspective, 290–4.

14 Ibid., 292.

15 Anthony J. Pollard, *North-Eastern England during the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War and Politics 1450–1500*, Oxford, 1990, 397; Walton, Imagining regions in comparative perspective, 289–302. See also note 3. Summerson employs the term 'region' to describe medieval Carlisle and its environs; however, it is not made clear how he defines or justifies the use of this term: see Henry Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle: The City and the Borders from the late Eleventh to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, Kendal, 1993.

16 Frank Musgrove, *The North of England: A History from Roman Times to the Present Day*, Oxford, 1990, 26–60.

17 R.L. Storey, *The End of the House of Lancaster*, 2nd edn., Gloucester, 1986, 109; Rachael R. Reid, The office of warden of the marches; its origin and early history, in: *English Historical Review*, 32, 128, 1917, 479–496. This should not be confused with modern-day Cumbria. The modern-day county of Cumbria was created in 1974 from the traditional counties of Cumberland and parts of Westmorland, the Cumberland County Borough of Carlisle, along with the North Lonsdale or Furness part of Lancashire, usually referred to as 'Lancashire North of the Sands', (including the county borough of Barrow-in-Furness) and, from the West Riding of Yorkshire, the Sedbergh Rural District.



The English west march towards Scotland in Tudor times – Source: Andy Sargent

Solway Firth and the Irish Sea and its easternmost edge was set against the liberties of Tynedale and Redesdale in the Middle March. Its northern-most borders fluctuated according to the fortune of either protagonist in war and diplomacy.[18] However by the sixteenth century the only areas left in dispute between the two kingdoms were the Debateable Lands – small and insignificant pockets of land on the border which grew in symbolic value to either realm's prestige during warfare between England and Scotland.[19] This was a time when the border between England and Scotland was a border between

18 Steven G. Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers and Noble Power: The Making of the British State*, Oxford, 1995, xxiii.

19 Marcus Merriman, *The Rough Wooings: Mary Queen of Scots, 1542–1551*, East Linton, Scotland, 2000, 376–80.

two separate and often antagonistic kingdoms, rather than simply a line on the map with limited significance as it is today.[20]

At the borders of the state, regional identity could be strong and distinctive. This is hardly surprising when the frontier nature of such society is taken into account.[21] A border region was distinguished by its function in defending the realm. The borders were plenished with war-ready tenants who could be called out to deter small-scale raids or stall outright invasions until a larger force could arrive. These defensible areas were known as marches. The marches were clearly defined geographical entities and were recognisable to residents, outsiders and the administration of the bordering states. Their role and function was clear and, reinforcing claims to regional identity, their administration differed from the apparent 'normal' governance of crown territory. The Welsh Marches were administered largely from Ludlow by a Welsh Council of the Marches.[22] The northern marches were different: although a Council of the North sat for most of the sixteenth century, on each march the most important figure was usually the warden of the march.[23]

Although ostensibly at war (or at best an uneasy peace) for much of the period following Edward's great invasions of the late thirteenth century, the relationship between England and Scotland was not thereafter characterized by major set-piece battles.[24] Instead, smaller scale raids were an everyday threat for

20 Diana Newton, *North-East England, 1569–1625: Governance, Culture and Identity*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2006; Maureen M. Meikle, *A British Frontier? Lairds and Gentlemen in the Eastern Borders, 1540–1603*, East Linton, Scotland, 2004. However, for some the borders have a particular cultural relevance today: see John Gray, Lawlessness on the frontier: the Anglo-Scottish borderlands in the fourteenth to sixteenth century, in: *History and Anthropology*, 12, 4, 2001, 381–408.

21 For instances of scholarship on this see D. Newton, *North-East England, 1569–1625: Governance, Culture and Identity*. See also, Meikle, *A British Frontier?* However, scholars have tended to, in the main, focus on the North East or Eastern borders. Summerson is one notable exception, however. His book is far lighter on detail about the borders than the city, due to the paucity of sources for a region lacking urbanisation or greater centralisation, presumably: Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, in particular the introduction. See also David Marcombe, 'A rude and heady people': the local community and the rebellion of the northern earls, in: Marcombe (ed.), *The Last Principality: Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham, 1494–1660,* Nottingham, 1987, 117–51.

22 'An Acte for Lawes and Justice to be ministered in Wales', 27 Henry VIII c.26 [Eng]; see also John Gwynfor Jones, *Wales and the Tudor State: Government, Religious Change and the Social Order, 1534–1603*, Cardiff, 1989, 16–22.

23 Reid, The Office of Warden of the Marches, 494–6; Mervyn James, *Society, Politics and Culture: Studies in Early Modern England*, Cambridge, 1986, 92–7. See also Ellis, A border baron and the tudor state: the rise and fall of Lord Dacre of the North, in: *The Historical Journal*, 35, 2, 1992, 253–77.

24 For a history of Anglo-Scottish warfare see John Sadler, *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War, 1296–1568*, Harlow, 2005.

border residents during more troubled times. The West March was, in fact, a region of in-depth defensive measures. There was not one defensive line; strategically placed strongholds, extending well beyond the borders themselves, allowed a place of shelter for local inhabitants and troops. These strongholds were designed to hold up an enemy advance long enough for larger forces to arrive, or, fortified with their small garrisons, were able to deter raiders somewhat. The West March contained larger strongholds, the ever relevant English castle, such as Rockcliffe or Naworth, fortified churches such as at Burgh-by-Sands and, more commonly, smaller pele towers[25] or basles such as Clifton Hall or that remaining at Lanercost. There were around ninety pele towers in Cumberland alone, demonstrating this very fact.[26] Pele towers were erected on the Cumberland coastal plane and as far south of the border as Lancaster and North Yorkshire as well as on the border itself.[27] In the West March there was no one major defensive structure such as Berwick: nor would it have been easy to place or build one. The problem for defenders of the West March was that it was an area with a rather fluid border. At certain times, the rivers Eden and Esk would be too high to cross, at other times they were calm and easily fordable. The Solway Firth too, where it narrowed, was easily traversed by foot, horse or artillery train at certain places and at certain times, in particular at low tides and in favourable weather conditions. The sea, of course, provided another possible point of entry with the Cumberland coastline resting on the Irish Sea. Thus the border between England and Scotland was rather permeable in the West March. Several times over the centuries armies crossed the border to attack the opposite realm. This defined the region's distinctive function within the state; it was a militarily strategic border area, far different from lowland English norms.[28]

The region itself was rather distinctive due to administrative differences from the lowland shires. Regional magnates dominated West March society with them-

25 There are many types of pele towers (sometimes peel towers), basles and tower houses (the term usually employed for similar defensive structures in Ireland). Broadly, they are uncrenellated, defensive dwellings or keeps of between two and four storeys. They may be occupied permanently or used only in times of need. Some were parts of churches: in the northern counties they may also be known as rectory peels or vicar's peels due to this association; see in particular University of Newcastle Upon Tyne, Structural Images of the North East, http://sine.ncl.ac.uk/term_definitions.asp?term_id=1164&thesaurus_code=ty (accessed 18 April 2013).

26 Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, 69. See also, Lise E. Hull, *Britain's Medieval Castles*, Westport, CT, 2006, 117.

27 Denis R. Perriam/John Robinson, *Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria: An Illustrated Study Guide and Gazetteer*, Kendal, 1997.

28 Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 3–6.

selves, their family and their connexion taking up most, if not all, of the positions of authority in the region. The regional magnates' hands were strengthened considerably by holding the crown post of march wardens.[29] The Dacres monopolized the post of warden of the West March from the late fifteenth century until 1563, with some enforced interludes in their usage when the Clifford earls of Cumberland or Sir Thomas Wharton held the wardenship.[30] The wardenship conferred inordinate influence and power on the magnate within this territory. Hence there were many feuds and arguments emanating from the parties vying for this position.[31] The warden of the West March held the right to all of the stewardships and fees of crown estates within his remit, notably in regard to Cockermouth and Penrith.[32] The warden held warden courts where men could be hanged for March Treason, a seemingly vague offence.[33] The warden ostensibly represented the crown in the region but often used the position to build up his own strength and *manraed*: probably reflecting the crown's rather weak influence on the society of the far north in general.[34] A government response to this weakness was the re-establishment of the Council of the North by Henry VIII in 1537.[35] This was perhaps a prudent measure when taking into account the rise of Richard III and the course of the War of the Roses. However, the Council of the North rarely ventured outside York and many borderers saw that as an expensive and pointless journey to undertake.[36] The Dacres were the main border landholders and held more lands and tenants in Cumberland than anyone else.[37] Their courts were a main source of justice for local people until their downfall.[38] Dacre courts were near at hand at Askerton and also at Brampton and Burgh-by-Sands; therefore from the point of view of local residents justice could be upheld locally by

29 James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 94–9; Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 81–106.
30 Tough, *The Last Years*, 281; Sargent, Ruling the borders, 200.
31 See notes 32, 60.
32 As Scrope demonstrated, this was probably in order to maximise his income from the post: see Offices yearly fees and fe[r]mes which Lord Wharton had, with the wardenry and captainship of the City and Castle of Carlisle, [1596?] (T.N.A S.P.59/41 f. 238).
33 Cynthia J. Neville, The law of treason in the English border counties in the later Middle Ages, in: *Law and History Review*, 9, 1, 1991, 1–30. See also Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, 113–72.
34 Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 40–8. See also James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 95.
35 Although it has been argued that the Council was there already, in one form or another: see Reid, *The King's Council in the North*, London, 1921, 101–47, 505–7.
36 James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 92–3; Reid, *The King's Council*.
37 Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 81–106. See also, James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 97–9; Sargent, Ruling the Borders, 201–16.
38 James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 92–7; Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, 530.

someone with the power to enforce judgements.[39] Even the residents of the more ordered and urban (in comparison to the borders) city of Carlisle were under the sway of the Dacres. Through his position as warden, Dacre enforced the city's charters and held much of Carlisle's immediate surrounds by traditional right.[40]

Economically too, the far north-west had some claim to regional difference. It was notoriously poor: the Bishopric of Carlisle the poorest of any English diocese, and parishes were large and poor because of the low population density.[41] In addition, tenancies often had unusual yet traditional features allowing residents to hold their property through defensive service to their lord or the crown; something that would cause much legal wrangling once enmity between the two states began to subside.[42] However, it is notoriously difficult to work out the exact status, or even number, of this type of tenant in this border region. The Dacres would prefer a 'sturdy' bowman or horseman even if this meant less rent.[43] Throughout a period of ever increasing rents and a seemingly never-ending search for profits by great lords, this reverses what seems to have been a national trend.[44] The crown had few tenants-in-chief in the West March and so the gentry there followed the regional magnates, so again weakening crown influence in the region.[45] This meant that regional magnates could seem to act almost autonomously of crown power, in particular when their strength was combined with a wardenship. There was a caveat to this, however: the position of warden was a crown one and could be taken away, unlike noble titles. Nevertheless, the dominance of the border wardens seemed to hark back to a feudal past, when 'overmighty' subjects had dominated vast swathes of territory.[46]

39 Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, 530.
40 Ibid., 649–54.
41 See notes 68, 118.
42 Hoyle, Customary tenure on the Elizabethan estates, in: Hoyle (ed.), *The Estates of the English Crown, 1558–1640*, Cambridge, 1995, 191–203; An ancient and laudable custom: the definition and development of tenant right in North-Western England in the sixteenth century, in: *Past and Present*, 116, 1987, 24–55. See also Reid, *The King's Council*, 300–5; C.E. Searle, Customary tenants and the enclosure of the Cumbrian commons, in: *Northern History*, 29, 1993, 126–53.
43 Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 99–101.
44 Amongst many works on the subject, see Peter Lindert, English population, wages, and prices: 1541–1913, in: *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 15, 4, 1985, 609–34; see also Douglas Fisher, The price revolution: a monetary interpretation, in: *Journal of Economic History*, 49, 1989, 883–902; Peter Ramsey, (ed.), *The Price Revolution in Sixteenth-Century England*, London, 1971.
45 Ellis, Tudor Frontiers, 81. See also Ellis, Frontiers and power in the early Tudor state, in: *History Today*, 5, 4,1995, 35–43.
46 James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 122; Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 105.

This view of a feudal society was reinforced by a perception of the West March as somehow more violent or uncivil than other parts of the realm. The region's importance to England's security and the martial nature of its inhabitants did not enhance its reputation among strangers or visitors. The West March was viewed as distinct from other areas of the kingdom during the early modern period. It was, after all, a border area but it seems that the society of the West March was somehow considered more apt to violent or brutal behaviour than other border regions in the English state.[47] Probably, it was the continued existence of the border surnames in and adjacent to the West March that created a widespread perception of danger and lawlessness: even other border areas have been described as 'more peaceable'.[48]After the cessation of hostilities between the two nations the West March continued to be considered as a dangerous part of the realm for people to visit. Perhaps writing with a hint of creative licence, Camden stated in 1587 that he could not 'for safeties sake take full survey of it [the wall] for fear of the ranke riders thereabouts'.[49]

It is, however, hard to know exactly how disordered a region the West March was in comparison to other, similar, areas of the realm. As Newton states, there was as much crime in Worcestershire as there was in the North-East borders.[50] Certainly, the border surnames reived, robbed and blackmailed on the West March; but they also carried out raids on Durham and Northumberland.[51] It was probably geography rather than any ingrained civility in society that limited the border surnames' ridings in the East March, as defensively Berwick and its surroundings proved an impossible barrier to small forces of border raiders.[52] The border surnames' non-conformity with English codes of behaviour and rather

47 Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, 228–9; D. Newton, *North-East England*, 71.

48 Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, 228–9; D. Newton, *North-East England*, 71; Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 67–9. See also, Ellis with Christopher Maginn, *The Making of the British Isles: The State of Britain and Ireland, 1450–1660*, Harlow, 2007, 20–4; Ralph Robson, *The Rise and Fall of the English Highland Clans: Tudor Responses to a Mediaeval Problem,* Edinburgh, 1989; Andrew Sargent/Kieran Hoare, Resistance to the union of the crowns: the north of England and the recusancy revolt of 1603, in: Lud'a Klusáková/ Martin Moll (eds.) *Crossing Frontiers and Resisting Identities*, Pisa, 2009, 135–56.

49 William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland …*, London, 1637, 800.

50 D. Newton, *North-East England*, 106.

51 James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, 96–101; D. Newton, *North-East England*, 71. See also, The Council to Forster, 20 August 1595 (T.N.A S.P. 59/30 f. 144).

52 Norman McCord/Richard Thompson, *The Northern Counties from AD 1000*, London, 1998, 145. For an example of how the East Marches could be considered as somehow more sophisticated or 'civil' than the West Marches, see Meikle, *A British Frontier?,* 88, 184–5; see also D. Newton, *North-East England*, 71.

unsettled lifestyle singled them out as dangerous and uncivil: it seems that knowledge of this was widespread enough for them to merit a mention in Camden's book, perhaps to enliven the narrative with stories of notorious border thieves and their exploits.[53] Certainly, there was a perception that the West March was somehow disordered and unruly: an almost uncivilized corner of the English state.[54] Whether or not the West March was any more or less civilized than other areas of the English state mattered little: the perception of behaviour on the West March was what formed its identity to onlookers.[55] Unfortunately this perception was often-times reinforced by the behaviour of the very men who represented authority in the West March: the men who were leaders in society. [56]

The usual choice of border wardens – the Lords Dacre – certainly feuded with their opposite numbers in Scotland on various occasions; Dacre's opposite number, John Lord Maxwell, was said to be a rather prickly man. Cecil was warned about William Lord Dacre's 'frivoll excuses' in 1561 with Maitland explaining, 'You know how on willing [unwilling] a man the Maister off Maxwell is to beare long a manifest injury.'[57] This was demonstrated in 1563 when Maxwell rode into the English West March with fifty men, apparently in order to chase 'plompes and outlaws', but was forced to retreat back across the border by the residents of the English West March: one Scot was wounded and a couple of horses killed. However, members of the border surname family of the Grahams were involved as one 'Braydes Willy', William Graham, shot an arrow amongst the Scots.[58] Despite the obvious violence, it is doubtful whether this incident was as serious an occurrence as the Raid of Redeswire that took place in the Middle March. The Redeswire debacle occurred as Sir John Forster, warden of the English Middle March, antagonized the Scots at a truce day. The ensuing fray ended in bloodshed and the taking of many English prisoners.[59] However, Forster's fate could be put down to Scottish, and therefore foreign, intransigence; so too could Maxwell's.

53 Camden, *Britain*, 800; David Margolies, *Novel and Society in Elizabethan England*, Beckenham, Kent, 1985, 2–3; Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Cambridge, 2006, 121.

54 Meikle, *A British Frontier?,* 88, 184–5,228–9; James, *Society, Politics and Culture*, 96–101; D. Newton, *North-East England*, 71.

55 Dave Russell, Culture and the formation of northern English identities from *c*.1850, in: *An Agenda for Regional History*, 271–88, 279–82.

56 Gray, Lawlessness on the frontier, 399–401.

57 Lord Maitland to Secretary Cecil, 1561 (TNA SP 52/7 f. 11).

58 Lord Dacre to the Council, 2 May 1562 (T.N.A S.P. 59/6 f. 1).

59 During this fray two English and five Scots were killed and Forster and others taken prisoner: see Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, 224–7.

Although the Dacres dominated the wardenship until the 1560s, a late interloper to the office was Thomas, 1st Baron Wharton. These lords feuded incessantly with each other – adding fuel to the fire of those representing the West March as disordered.[60] After they had patched up their differences, however, they, as also the Cliffords, were seen as conservative, particularly in religion and, at certain times, even downright treacherous. In 1534 William 3rd Baron Dacre of Gilsland found himself charged with treason – he emerged as the only Henrician noble to escape these charges with his life.[61] Despite Dacre's successful defence of the treason case a certain stain remained on the Dacres' reputation. In 1561 Wharton's son was arrested for hearing mass whilst the suggestion was that he was involved in plotting against Queen Elizabeth.[62] Clifford managed to die just before an outbreak of major trouble hit the region but, most pertinently of all, considering their extensive border holdings and long service as wardens of the West March, Leonard Dacre was forced into outright rebellion against the crown, largely due to a miscarriage of justice which robbed his family of all they had built up over the preceding century.[63] In 1570, Dacre's tenants joined him on the battlefield against crown forces under Baron Hunsdon and Sir John Forster, to no avail. [64] Serious outbreaks of violence (in fact, this was the largest conflagration on English soil throughout Elizabeth's long reign) like this did not, of course, enhance a region's reputation.

Despite its reputation, the West March was invaluable to England's defence in other ways too, notably in offensive actions. The significance of this was not lost on the government of England. The West March became a major staging post for military action into the northern realm. At the peak of Dacre military power, Thomas Lord Dacre assisted the invasion of Scotland in 1514 with several thousand from the West March.[65] Thomas Lord Dacre even managed to

60 Hoyle, Faction, feud and reconciliation amongst the northern English nobility, 1525–1569, in: *History*, 84, 276, 1999, 590–613.

61 Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 174–206; see also John G. Bellamy, *The Tudor Law of Treason*: *An Introduction*, London, 1979, 136.

62 The names of prisoners for the mass, April 1561 (T.N.A S.P. 60/3 ff. 9–10).

63 J.W. Clay, The Clifford Family, in: *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 18, 1905, 382–5. Leonard Dacre was the senior male representative of the Dacre family following the death of George 'The Little' Lord Dacre. However, although the lands were entailed more than once, the workings of the Court of Wards, the Earl Marshall's Court and the power of Cecil and Norfolk combined to find that the entail was invalid and the extensive estates would remain with wards of the crown: see Andrew Sargent, 'Ruling the borders': William Lord Dacre and the genesis of the Dacre Rising, PhD dissertation, NUI Galway, 2012.

64 Henry Lord Hunsdon to the Queen, 20 February 1570 (T.N.A S.P 15/17 f.251).

65 Sadler, *Border Fury*, 433–8.

earn the sobriquet *Malleus Scottorum* from one historically aware author as he described Dacre's discovery of the body of the Scottish king on the battlefield at Flodden.[66] During the crisis of the mid-1550s, William 3rd Baron Dacre mustered 5,425 men for the defence of the West March.[67] When the muster figures for the Earl of Cumberland at 1,200 men and Wharton's 2,638 'persons' are taken into account, it seems that the West March could offer close to 10,000 men for England's defence. In comparison, the far more populated southern shires such as Norfolk mustered 2,670 men, Sussex 5,889 men and Hampshire returned the highest figure at 6,031 'able men'.[68] The West March's high muster figure was produced by Dacre and other magnates' estate management policies.[69] Tudor England's larger continental invasion forces often numbered somewhere between 20,000 and 30,000 men.[70] Undoubtedly then, the military strength of the West March was an intrinsic part of England's defensive and offensive strength.

If the 'men of Kent' were used to shipping out from a southern port to cross the channel to fight for England's claim to France, the men of the West March were just as ready to invade the northern kingdom, or indeed take up active military service across a different body of water – in Ireland. In 1535 Richard Dacre, a cousin of Thomas Lord Dacre, and Thomas Dacre of Lanercost, Thomas Lord Dacre's illegitimate son, were sent to Ireland at the head of a force of West March mounted spearmen[71] – some of the most prized forces of the day, inured to life in a more turbulent society and so supposedly more suited to the Irish conditions. However, this readiness for military action did not enhance the West Marchers' image among the English population elsewhere: Richard Dacre's exploits in Ireland led to him being mistaken in 1535/36 for one of the 'King's Irish enemies' and imprisoned. Eventually, Thomas Cromwell

66 Howard Pease, *The Lord Wardens of The Marches of England and Scotland*, London, 1912, 208.

67 Musters were particularly meticulous and widespread that year due to the fall of Calais and the apparent risk of French invasion: Muster book of 1556/7, 1556–7 (T.N.A S.P.11/11 f. 33).

68 See note 67. For estimates of the population in the northern border counties, see Robert Newton, The decay of the borders: Tudor Northumberland in transition, in: Christopher. W. Chalkin/Michael. A. Havinden (eds.), *Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500–1800*, London, 1974, 2–31, esp. 8–10; Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, 26–7; McCord/Thompson, *The Northern Counties*, 113–31. For a discussion of the general population, see Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England 1547–1603*, Oxford, 2002, 1–4, 162–4.

69 Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 94–103.

70 Charles G. Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, 2nd edn., Oxford, 1966, 15.

71 Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 213.

had to vouch for both Thomas and Richard Dacre; after a spell in irons Richard Dacre was shipped home unceremoniously.[72] Evidently, Richard Dacre's character was not what was categorized as good and civil English behaviour, a fact he proved on several occasions.[73] The more militarized conditions of the West March undoubtedly accounted for this apparent difference from society and people in lowland England.

The West March's distinctiveness and intrinsic importance was not to outlast the sixteenth century, however. During the 1560s, William Cecil, Elizabeth's principal secretary, pushed forward a policy of appeasement and set the groundwork for a gradual political and religious alignment with Scotland.[74] The improved relationship between England and Scotland, driven forward by Elizabethan foreign policy in conjunction with a Protestant religious sentiment in Scotland (albeit one that would take on a more continental air) meant that the military significance of the marches began to wane.[75] Although it had been a perceived problem for some time, the process of 'decay' (the lack of suitably furnished men for defence, in particular horsemen) on the borders began to accelerate towards the end of the century.[76] In 1563 William 4th Baron Dacre of Gilsland was removed from the position of warden of the West March and replaced by Lord Scrope.[77] Instead of a local, resident lord maintaining the power of the West March through his own personal connexion and estate management policies, Scrope was a crown-serving outsider and had problems in controlling the local populace.[78] It seems that Scrope's musters were rather riotous occasions. In 1565 he stated that he had:

72 Tho[ma]s. Dacre to Cromwell, 5 January 1536 (T.N.A S.P 60/3/30). See also Christopher Maginn, *'Civilizing' Gaelic Leinster: The Extension of Tudor Rule in the O'Byrne and O'Toole Lordships*, Dublin, 2005.

73 James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 118, 182. See also Hoyle, Faction, feud, 597; Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 242. See also Ellis, Civilizing Northumberland: representations of Englishness in the Tudor state, in: *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 12, 2, 1999, 103–27.

74 Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis, 1558–1569*, Cambridge, 1998.

75 Sheldon J. Watts with Susan Watts, *From Border to Middle Shire: Northumberland 1586–1625*, Leicester, 1975. For Protestant culture see, Jane Dawson, Anglo-Scottish protestant culture and integration in sixteenth-century Britain, in: *Conquest and Union*, 87–114. See also D. Newton, *North-East England*, 82–4.

76 R. Newton, The decay of the borders, 2–31. See also Meikle, *A British Frontier?,* 127–31; Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, 173–85.

77 Appointment of Lord Scrope, April 1563, *C[alendar] P[atent] R[olls] Elizabeth I, 1560–1563*, vol. 2, 476.

78 Douglas L.W. Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier: A history of the Borders During the Reign of Elizabeth I*, Oxford, 1928, 281.

> here taken the musters by virtue of a commission from the Lord Lieutenant, whereupon the Borderers gather such presumption of wars as he can scarcely keep them from disorder, and fears that they shall upon such bruits as they have thereof use hostility.[79]

If Scrope's statement is to be believed then it seems that the residents of the English West March wanted to wage war on the Scots of their own accord.

In the West March Scrope could not offer the crown anything like the power of the Dacres. However, he was perceived as loyal and conformable in religion. Upon the occasion of the rebellion of the Northern Earls, Scrope tacitly reminded Cecil, 'I assure you he is not to be touched with the force of this country. I may levy a good number, yet few will be found to execute their force against a Dacre'. Plainly, the inhabitants of 'this country' placed loyalty to their local lords above loyalty to outsiders.[80] It was perhaps clear to the inhabitants of the region that the Dacres had protected them for a considerable period of time but also that defence of the northern border was not a crown priority by the 1560s. Crown neglect continued apace: in 1595 Scrope pleaded with Lord Huntingdon, then Lord Lieutenant of the North, to write individually to local gentlemen to find out who would offer their service on the West March voluntarily. This was an unprecedented measure but necessary considering 'how unfit this country is for service'.[81] This is a particularly revealing statement from Scrope considering the ongoing legal debate about tenancies and the fact that all able-bodied men aged between sixteen and sixty had a legal obligation to serve in defence of their country.[82]

From a government and lowland England perspective, military-minded border lords and wardens, such as the Dacres, became viewed increasingly as part of an out-of-fashion feudal past. John Guy, however, may well have pre-empted this somewhat when describing the fall from grace of Thomas 2nd Baron Dacre in 1525 as 'the end of the age of the medieval robber baron'.[83] In truth, the last whimpers of military action on the English West March paled into insignificance in comparison to their fourteenth-century heyday – or even

79 Scrope to Cecil, 3 September 1565 in: Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, 1558–1589*, vol. 7: 1564–1565, London, 1870. See also Scrope to Cecil, 3 September 1565 (T.N.A S.P 59/10 f. 10).

80 Henry Lord Scrope to Sir William Cecil, 31 January 1570, M.A.E. Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, Addenda 1566–1579*, London, 1871, 215.

81 Scrope to Huntingdon, 13 December 1595 (T.N.A S.P 59/30 f.306).

82 Cruickshank, *Elizabeth's Army*, 23–4.

83 John Guy, *The Cardinal's Court: The Impact of Thomas Wolsey in Star Chamber*, Sussex, 1977, 122–3.

to battles like Solway Moss. The last military actions in the West March were truly English affairs followed by truly British ones. In 1570 Leonard Dacre led his force of over 3,000 borderers on a battle charge against the combined forces of Sir John Forster and Lord Hunsdon. A few miles from Naworth, Dacre's forces were cut down by superior discipline and fire-power but were not lacking in bravery. This event was the culminating act in the fall of the Dacres and, of course, brought to an end any influence they held amongst West March residents.[84] After this short-lived rebellion, hot on the heels of the rebellion of the Northern Earls, England launched large punitive raids into Scotland for harbouring the lingering English rebels.[85] This reminded the border Scots where their new allegiance lay – not with rebels but with their Anglophile government, the English crown and the 'new' religion.[86] Scotland had been transformed from a troublesome neighbour and enemy into a potential ally. Scotland was not to threaten England militarily for some time, until the growth of religious disquiet during the seventeenth century.[87]

The growth of Protestantism in Scotland, the long imprisonment and execution of Mary Queen of Scots and, finally, the accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne meant that even before James's attempt to reclassify the borders as 'the middle shires', the military function of the border, the West March's *raison d'être*, had faded away.[88] In many places on the border there had never been a sharp distinction about where the border lay, except in more contentious areas. Map making was in its infancy and the border could not by any means be considered a clear, physical boundary.[89] Certainly, cross-border trade remained constant, even in war time, showing a certain disregard for

84 Henry Lord Hunsdon to the Queen, 15 February 1570 (T.N.A S.P 15/17 f.251); see note 40. See also Krista J. Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569: Faith, Politics, and Protest in Elizabethan England*, Basingstoke, 2007, 99.

85 Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, 212–9; Sadler, *Border Fury*, 530–2.

86 Keith Brown, The making of a 'politique': the Counter Reformation and the regional politics of John, Eighth Lord Maxwell, *Scottish Historical Review*, 66, 182, 1987, 152–75; Jane Dawson, William Cecil and the British dimension of early Elizabethan foreign policy, in: *History*, 74, 241, 1989, 196–216. See also Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Foreign Policy, 1558–1603*, London, 2000.

87 Ian J. Gentles, *The English Revolution and the Wars in the Three Kingdoms, 1638–1652*, Harlow, 2007, 5–33. See also Mark Charles Fissell, *The Bishops' Wars: Charles I's Campaigns Against Scotland, 1638–1640*, Cambridge, 1994.

88 See notes 85, 86; see also Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, 281–3. See also Michael Graham, The Scottish Reformation, in: Robert Titler/Norman Jones (eds.), *A Companion to Tudor Britain*, London, 2004, 289–306.

89 D. Newton, *North-East England*, 13–14; Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, 68–70.

high politics amongst border society.[90] There is also evidence of a shared border identity amongst some members of society, although one suspects that Dacre servants like Tom Scot knew he was a Scotsman and most knew only too well where their allegiance lay.[91] The exceptions, once again, were really the border surnames whose members seemed to have little allegiance to either realm under normal circumstances and can be identified as truly cross-border kin-groups. Even these, however, pledged their nefarious services to either realm at a price and could become Scots, 'assured'[92] Scots or Englishmen as circumstances dictated. In 1558 Leonard Dacre assured the Armstrongs as loyal English subjects, even though they lived on the Scottish side of the border. Later that year he was warned not to do so due to their dangerous habits. By 1570 the Armstrongs were described as the 'certain Scots' who saved Dacre from the clutches of Hunsdon.[93] The behaviour of the Armstrongs seems to be the main criterion that qualified them as English: once rebels alongside Leonard Dacre they were Scots; whilst serving the crown they were nominally English with a certain disdain reserved for their habits. Border or no border, the Armstrongs remained outside the bounds of 'normal', 'civilized' English society.[94]

With families like the Dacres gone, new landlords pushed up rents or amalgamated border holdings in order to raise more livestock. Small border tenants who had held their land for generations due to border service were asked to pay higher rents on lands which were not of the best quality.[95] Undoubtedly many left the region, although we cannot be entirely sure how many had already left or been killed due to the Dacre rising or during the earlier rising of the Northern Earls.[96] This depopulation of the borders was part of the process of decay. Whereas this had been a major worry in the 1540s, by the 1580s sporadic reports of border decay seemed to fall on the deaf ears of a crown now looking

90 Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, 260–4. However, Merriman states that the Scots had little need or motivation to trade with the English: see Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, 59.

91 For a shared identity in particular, see Meikle, *A British Frontier?*, 1–5, 281–2; Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 157.

92 Assured Scots were Scots who swore allegiance to England, usually at a price, such as the Armstrongs did in 1558; see note 93.

93 Warrant to the Receiver of Cumberland to pay monthly the wages of 9d a day, granted to Sandy Armstrong and ten of his sons, 10 February 1558 (T.N.A S.P. 15/8 f.145); John Roche Dasent et al. (eds.), *A[cts]P[rivy]C[ouncil]*, vol. 6, 105; Henry Lord Hunsdon to the Queen, 15 February 1570 (T.N.A S.P. 15/17 f.251).

94 Ellis, Civilizing Northumberland, 104–15; Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 68. See also James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 95–7.

95 In particular see the complaints of the Dacre tenants upon the change from Dacre to Howard control, 1567 (T.N.A. S.P. 15/13 ff. 184–96).

for enemies elsewhere.[97] By 1603, in the person of James VI of Scotland, now James I of England and Scotland, the crown was a British imperial one containing the two nation states and Ireland.[98] At a stroke the Union of the Crowns effectively eradicated any lingering military significance the borders still held.[99] The disappearance of the military function of the border and the subsequent loss of its significance had a huge impact on the West March, a region that was so dependant on military service against the opposite realm. Whereas it had been in the 'national' interest for each realm to keep the borders plenished and to maintain healthy relations with strong border lords, lairds and land-holders, improved Anglo-Scottish relations meant an end to this necessity.

In short, whereas the previous three centuries had seen the West March become a distinctive region of the English realm, the Union of the Crowns eroded any such significance. The West March ceased to exist as such and Cumberland and Westmorland became like the other shires of England, even if they did rather lack the benefit of much urban infrastructure or even good land which was, perhaps, the region's one remaining claim to regional difference and identity.[100] This same lack of urban infrastructure and low population density, however, meant that by the seventeenth century the fate of the far North-West of England was almost sealed: despite urban growth it remained largely a rural and unsophisticated area.[101] There was no martial function for West March borderers or the West March region as a whole after the improvement of Anglo-Scottish relations. War with the Scots was now to be avoided rather than encouraged. And there was little need for strengthening the defences of a border with a friendly state. The inhabitants' martial identity was no longer prized. It was replaced by a civil identity emanating from the City of Carlisle or from new border landlords like Lord William Howard.[102] Some of the more unsettled

96 Kesselring, *The Northern Rebellion of 1569*, esp. 99,127; Hardy B. McCall, The rising in the north: a new light upon one aspect of it, in: *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 18, 1905, 74–87.

97 Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, 172–85. See also note 68.

98 Newton, *North-East England*, 82–3; Watts/Watts, From border to middle, 131–40.

99 Newton, *North-East England*, 83; Ellis with Maginn, *The Making of the British Isles*, 287; Ellis, Centre and periphery in the Tudor state, in: Titler/Jones (eds.), *A Companion*, 133–50.

100 See note 101; see also Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 20.

101 Roy Millward, The Cumbrian Town between 1600 and 1800, in: Chalkin/Havinden (eds.), *Rural Change and Urban Growth 1500–1800*, 202–28. See also Gray, Lawlessness on the frontier, 381–408.

102 Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, 652; George Ornsby (ed.), *Selections From The Household Books of The Lord William Howard, Of Naworth Castle*, Durham, 1878.

elements of West March society, in particular the Grahams, a border surname, were cleared from the region and planted in Ireland. Being at least English, however, meant that the crown could at least claim these people were more civilized than the 'wild' Irish: an empty claim really considering Richard Dacre's appearance and mannerisms.[103] Without a distinct function and with no uncivil identity the West March should have become much like any other region of England. Nevertheless, an overt recognition of the supposed lawlessness of the area remained as border commissions continued.[104]

James had stated his policy towards the borders on his accession: his policy was 'to extinguish as well the name as substance of the borders, I mean the difference between them and other parts of the kingdom.'[105] Despite James's rhetoric, however, administratively and symbolically the borders remained in contention between the two British realms. In the East and Middle Marches, in particular in Durham and Northumberland, strong gentry interests jealously guarded their rights as border defenders.[106] Of course, this meant paying less tax and avoiding levies due to traditional rights conferred by continued service to the crown and the area's continued poverty and supposedly ruinous state.[107] This, of course, meant a reinforcement and reconstruction of the border line. Administratively too the borders remained, with Scots law and commissioners at work on one side and English Commissioners and Common law on the other, although March Law operated, in theory at least, until 1607.[108] Of course, it was difficult too for members of a border society, who had oftentimes been caught up in war or cross-border raiding, to bury their differences suddenly and unite as James would have perhaps preferred.[109] This may well have exacerbated differences between the Scots border commissions and the English border commissions. Encouraging co-operation between commissioners proved problem-

103 See notes 72, 73; Ellis with Maginn, *The Making of the British Isles*, 294; see also Ellis, *The Pale and the Far North: Government and Society in Two Early Tudor Borderlands*, Galway, 1986.

104 Ellis with Maginn, The making of the British Isles, 293–4; Newton, *North-East England*, 91–3.

105 Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland, 1603–1618*, Edinburgh, 1986, 16; Ellis with Maginn, The making of the British Isles, 287–94; Watts with Watts, From border to middle shire, 27–8.

106 Newton, North-East England, 85–6, 115–6; Sargent/Hoare, Resistance to the Union of the Crowns.

107 Newton, North-East England, 83, 85–6, 88, 95.

108 Anna Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March: 1573–1625; Power, Kinship, Allegiance*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2010, 19, 192.

109 Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March*, 192.

atic for the British monarch.[110] However, with a weakened border the problem of the border surnames remained. Although the actions of the border reivers impacted greatly on Middle March and East March society, the border surnames were perceived as largely a West March problem.[111] In the West March, therefore, the priority lay in clearing the area of border surnames, rather than in reinforcing cross-border differences. It seems that the Scottish West March was affected severely by the feud of Maxwell and Johnstone 'of that Ilk'; this too probably discouraged bickering between English and Scots, as the Scots had their own more pressing difficulties. The death of Maxwell in 1593 seemed to do little to bring peace to the Scottish West March.[112] The erstwhile Scrope took matters into his own hands in 1602 and roved the Scottish west march of his own accord, in order to quieten the clans. However, by 1621 the clans seem to have been cleared or quieted; even the guard was disbanded and shire government further advanced.[113]

The next bout of Anglo-Scottish enmity, the Bishops' Wars, had little impact on the West March militarily: there were great fears of a Scottish attack and King Charles rushed to reinforce Carlisle, but no attack materialized.[114] Despite strong Covenenter feelings in the Scottish East and Middle Marches, there does not seem to have been the same religious divide between the English and Scottish West Marches.[115] It seems that traditional religious sentiments may have permeated society in the West Marches, despite any particular religious leanings of the border wardens or commissioners. It is hard to gauge the religious leanings of any British region at this time but in 1603 the far north-west was not apparently particularly reformed. We can be sure that Lord William Howard, living near the border in Naworth Castle, was a recusant. The Lowthers, transformed from sixteenth-century rebels to seventeenth-century magnates, also remained traditional in their religious leanings.[116] In the Scottish West March John Lord Maxwell remained at best *politique* in his religious leanings; if

110 Ibid., 106, 192.
111 Tough, *The Last Years of a Frontier*, 273–6.
112 Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March*, 72; Brown, The Making of a 'Politique', 172–4.
113 Tough, *The Last Years*, 277; Ellis with Maginn, *The Making of the British Isles*, 294.
114 Fissel, *The Bishops' Wars*, 12–16.
115 Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March*, 43.
116 Priscilla Bawcutt, Lord William Howard of Naworth (1563–1640): Antiquary, Book Collector, and Owner of the Scottish Devotional Manuscript British Library, Arundel 285, in: *Textual Cultures*, 7, 1, 2012, 158–175; McCord/Thompson, *The Northern Counties*, 147, 156, 203–4, 235–7. See also, R.W. Linker, English Catholics in the eighteenth century: an interpretation, in: *Church History*, 35, 3, 1966, 288–310.

not outright Counter Reformation Catholic.[117] There may well have remained a latent Catholicism in western Anglo-Scottish border counties, in particular amongst the better off in society.[118] Certainly, the Kirk of the Scottish West March had been in a poor state in the early seventeenth century, mirroring the state of the church in Cumberland; in contrast Jedburgh in the Scottish Middle March housed a vigorous and active presbytery.[119] This may be one of any number of factors explaining why the Bishops' Wars did not reinforce traditional border differences on the West March. The Scots struck a serious blow at Newcastle in the north-east.[120] Despite this, the West March could not remain aloof from the problems of the 1640s. The outbreak of the Civil War saw Westmorland and Cumberland remain largely loyal to the crown, perhaps in line with religious sentiments.[121] A Parliamentarian army from Scotland duly besieged Carlisle in 1644–45, with the city being forced to surrender and subsequently garrisoned by Scottish Parliamentary forces. Their disdain for traditional religion was demonstrated by their pulling down some of the front and the Norman nave of Carlisle Cathedral in order to use the materials to repair fortifications.[122]

Whereas the military significance of the West March had declined since 1603, the siege may have reminded some residents of historical Anglo-Scots rivalry rather than a contemporary Parliamentarian vs Royalist divide: in other ways, too, developments in the West March seemed to hark back to the past. Although shired as Cumberland and Westmorland after the abolition of the border commissions, the West March remained under the influence of a small cabal of large landowners much like it had in the past.[123] The old regional magnates and border wardens were replaced by a new order of landed aristocracy. The limited numbers of gentry in Cumberland and Westmorland meant that new magnates, like the Lowthers, monopolized positions of authority throughout the far North-West, much as their predecessors, the Dacres and

117 Brown, The Making of a 'Politique'.
118 Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors*, Oxford, 1993.
119 S.M. Keeling, The Reformation in the Anglo-Scottish Border counties, in: *Northern History*, 15, 1979, 24–42; Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, 640; Groundwater, *The Scottish Middle March,* 42–3.
120 See note 87.
121 McCord/Thompson, *The Northern Counties*, 156–9.
122 Stanford E. Lehmber, *Cathedrals Under Siege: Cathedrals in English Society, 1600 – 1700*, Pennsylvania, 1996, 35.
123 McCord/Thompson, *The Northern Counties*, 147–55.

Cliffords, had.[124] Large landholders bought up small farms, and the gradual amalgamation of small-holdings in Cumberland and Westmorland paved the way for initial increases in agricultural production.[125] Nevertheless, industry flourished in the North-West in general with one author calling it the 'world's first industrial region'. Stobart's book, however, barely mentions Cumberland, Westmorland or even Carlisle; it concentrates rather on Manchester and Liverpool – the rather more obvious examples of industrial development. A crude statistical analysis of the book reveals Cumberland mentioned once, Carlisle not at all and Westmorland once; Liverpool appears seventy-seven times and Manchester ninety-two, making it seem as though the far North-West had little or no industrial development.[126]

None the less, the far North-West did have a hand in the Industrial Revolution. Carlisle became a centre for textile production by 1800. It could not, however, rival Manchester. By the mid-nineteenth century, mining had taken over as the main industry of the far North-West.[127] There were coal and iron ore deposits in Cumberland and Westmorland and the mining industry there flourished during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with Whitehaven, in particular, being built up by the Lowther interest on the strength of exports of coal to Ireland.[128] As elsewhere in England, industry brought with it increased population and the associated social ills.[129] Carlisle, though, was never the sprawling urban centre that Newcastle, Manchester or Liverpool became.[130] Large parts of Cumberland and Westmorland remained pastorally rural despite the local mining industry.[131] In truth, the far North-West's mining industry was minor in comparison to the North-East's. By 1830 Cumberland coal pro-

124 Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 81–106, 146–70 ; James, *Society, Politics & Culture*, 94–5, 117; McCord/Thompson, *The Northern Counties*, 147, 156, 203–4, 235–7.

125 J. E. Marr, *Cumberland*, Cambridge, 1910, 79–82; Joan Thirsk, (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 5, Cambridge, 1984, 12–14.

126 Stobart, *The First Industrial Region*.

127 Margaret E. Shepard, *From Hellgill To Bridge End: Aspects Of Economic And Social Change In The Upper Eden Valley, 1840–95*, Hatfield, Hertfordshire, 2003, 19–22, 176.

128 Oliver Wood, *West Cumberland Coal: 1600–1982/3*, Kendal, 1988; see also, McCord/Thompson, *The Northern Counties*, 203.

129 Neil Evans, Regional dynamics: north Wales, 1750–1914, in: Royle (ed.), *Issues of Regional Identity*, 201–25.

130 See note 10; Stobart, *The First Industrial Region*, 159; see also, McCord/Thompson, *The Northern Counties*, 228–32.

131 Thirsk, (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, vol. 5, 56–9; Luis Castells/John Walton, Contrasting identities: north-west England and the Basque Country, 1840–1936, in: Royle (ed.), *Issues of Regional Identity*, 44–81.

132 Mccord/Thompson, *The Northern Counties*, 199.

duction is estimated to have reached 560,000 tons; the North-East produced 6,915,000 tons in comparison.[132] However, the far North-West was not perceived as a highly industrial area – again that motif symbolized the North-East rather than the far North-West.

During the nineteenth century in particular, the far North-West was romanticized by men such as Walter Scott and William Wordsworth – in both paintings and writings.[133] Walter Scott's works romanticized the border reivers and may explain much of the fascination about them today.[134] The Romantics' work highlighted the far North-West's spectacular countryside and entertained the Victorian readership. Tourists came to see such natural wonders as exist in Cumberland and Westmorland, in particular the lakes, fells and peaks.[135] The Romantics, however, were not the originators of this idea of an area of geographic and historic interest. As early as the turn of the seventeenth century Lord William Howard and William Camden conversed about the region's historic past and started to collect antiquities and objects of interest from around the area.[136] Despite the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth-century industry in the area, the far North-West is much better remembered for Scott's border writings and for the poems and paintings of the Romantics. Again the function of the far North-West became rather peripheral to other regions of the state. In what Harvie has labelled 'Lake District Regionalism', the far North-West became an area of natural beauty and conservation; as such it was perceived as more rural, pastoral and traditional than the industrial centres of the North-East and the North-West's more southerly urban centres of Liverpool and Manchester.[137]

Thus, the far North-West has always been over-shadowed in importance by the North-East and its more urbane, more southerly neighbours. It has always been seen as somehow less civil. Gradually, since its geographic and administrative delineation in the thirteenth century, the West March became viewed as the most violent and lawless part of the border regions, whether it was or not.

133 Harvie, English regionalism, 110; Ian D. Whyte, The Lake District and Yorkshire Dales: refuges from the real world?, in: Christoph Ehland (ed.), *Thinking Northern: Textures of Identity in the North of England*, Amsterdam, 2007, 239–56; Marshall/Walton, *The Lake Counties: From 1830 to the mid twentieth Century*, Manchester, 1981, 14–16, 156–9, 221–2.

134 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837*, London, 1992, 15.

135 Konrad Schliephacke/Keith Sutton, Spead, steam and nostalgia: the heritage railways of Northern England, in: Ehland (ed.), *Thinking Northern*, 279–304; Whyte, The Lake District and Yorkshire Dales, 239–56.

136 Summerson, *Medieval Carlisle*, 701.

137 Harvie, English regionalism, 110. See also note 135.

By the sixteenth century, this perception of violent disorder was at its peak: but paradoxically regional identity was then at its most distinctive. The function of the West March in the sixteenth century was clear: it was a defensive area. It was clearly delineated geographically – it had clear and defined boundaries, in particular since the border line was rather stable, except for the Debateable Lands.[138] In addition, politically, administratively and socially the dominance of border wardens subverted the norms of English shire government, differentiating the West March from other regions. The behaviour of the wardens too, at certain times, did much to reinforce perceptions of the supposed disorder of the West March. Culturally then, the West March was viewed as uncivil. Economically, too, the far North-West was poor and lacking in substantial gentry. This was reflected in several ways, not least by the poor livings of its clergy and by the lack of knight's fees in Cumberland and Westmorland.[139] In many ways it was viewed as a feudal entity in a modernizing state but it fulfilled all of the criteria required of a distinct region, although for all of the 'wrong' reasons.[140]

As for its later history, although embracing the industrial revolution of eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain, the far North-West lagged behind its near neighbours in the North-East. During the Victorian Age, at a time when industry and technology were prized, Cumberland and Westmorland became Romanticized and renowned for their natural beauty: designated as the Lake District, Cumberland and Westmorland were left with little more than a Romantic view of a military past; the far North-West's industrial heritage was ignored completely.[141] In this way the far North-West has been disassociated from industrialism and modernism and equated with traditionalism and conservatism. Today the main industry of the Lake District and Cumbria is tourism.[142] The sixteenth century was a time when control of the West March was crucial to the realm. Evolving into a beauty spot between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, the West March (now Cumbria) belies its distinctive, belligerent and not insignificant early modern past.

138 Merriman, *The Rough Wooings*, 347, 373–80.
139 See note 119; see also Ellis, *Tudor Frontiers*, 81.
140 See notes 6, 7, 8, 46, 83.
141 Herbert L. Sussman, *Victorian Technology: Invention, Innovation, and the Rise of the Machine*, Santa Barbara, 2009, 119; see also notes 138, 139, 140.
142 Katy Bennett/Terry Carroll/Philip Lowe/Jeremy Phillipson (eds.), Coping with crisis in Cumbria: consequences of foot and mouth disease, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Centre for Rural Economy, Newcastle, 2002, 5, www.ncl.ac/cre/publish/pdfs/rr02.01a.pdf (accessed May 2013).

Diana Newton

Saint Cuthbert, the *Haliwerfolc* and Regional Identity in North-East England

Attempts to prove that North-East England had been a coherent and self-conscious region in the historical record from the beginning of the later Middle Ages to the present day have tended to conclude that the North-East had a very fragile historical identity over the *longue duree* and that, essentially, it was an incoherent and barely self-conscious region.[1] Moreover, it was found to be questionable 'whether the mentalities and mechanisms of interaction current before 1700 were amenable to a notion of regional identity only readily discernible in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'.[2] Rather, the early modern region was found to be composed of a series of shifting and kaleidoscopic sub-regions embracing a multiplicity of identities.[3] In one respect, however, the bishopric of Durham did have a very distinct identity which was predicated on St Cuthbert, with its inhabitants termed the *haliwerfolc*, meaning, in Old English, 'people of the saint'; that is, the tenants of the pre-Conquest church of Durham between the rivers Tees and Tweed.[4] The concept was developed through succeeding centuries and by the fifteenth century the *haliwerfolc* had become a 'chosen people' in a Middle English poem that recounted the flight of the community with its saint's body (following the Viking invasions of the later ninth and tenth centuries) that drew parallels with Old Testament experiences.[5] The notion of the *haliwerfolc* and the cult of St Cuthbert meant that the inhabitants of North-

1 This view was comprehensively tested by the North East England History Institute in a five-year investigation funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board/Council between 2000 and 2005. Several monographs and an edited volume were produced including: Graeme J. Milne, *North-East England, 1850–1914: The Dynamics of a Maritime Region,* Woodbridge, 2006; Diana Newton, *North-East England, 1569–1625: Governance, Culture and Identity,* Woodbridge, 2006; Adrian Green/A.J. Pollard (eds.), *Regional Identities in North-East England, 1300–2000,* Woodbridge, 2007; Robert Lee, *The Church of England and the Durham Coalfield, 1810–1926: Clergymen, Capitalists & Colliers*, Woodbridge, 2007; Christian D. Liddy, *The Bishopric of Durham in the Late Middle Ages : Lordship, Community and the Cult of St Cuthbert*, Woodbridge, 2008.

2 Green/Pollard, *Regional Identities*, 225.

3 Newton, *North-East England*, *passim*.

4 For a full discussion of the *Haliwerfolc* see Liddy, *Bishopric*, 186–208.

5 *The Life of Cuthbert in English Verse,* c.*A.D. 1450*, ed. J.T. Fowler, Surtees Society, 1899.

East England possessed their own distinctive culture and identity. This chapter will explore that identity predicated on its association with St Cuthbert both before and after the upheaval of the Reformation. It has been argued that the Reformation created as many myths as it overturned.[6] And, St Cuthbert's legacy in North-East England certainly illustrated that fact, in much the same way as emergent cults on the continent in the seventeenth century reinforced frontier identities across the confessional divide.[7] Yet, St Cuthbert was also celebrated in Scotland, for the saint's life was lived in the ancient kingdom of Northumbria which embraced southern Scotland as well as North-East England.

Cuthbert was born in the seventh century. In around 664, he became prior of Lindisfarne and was consecrated its bishop on 26 March 685. He was at Lindisfarne at Christmas 686, but he died in his hermitage on the island of Inner Farne on 20 March 687. The cult of St Cuthbert began almost immediately after his death when his remains were moved to a more elevated place to facilitate veneration of them. On opening the grave, his body was found to be undecayed and the clothing still fresh: a clear and unequivocal sign of sanctity. A series of miracles believed to have been worked at the site of St Cuthbert's new burial place confirmed this and the cult was actively promoted by his successor bishops of Lindisfarne. But, St Cuthbert's posthumous importance may have extended beyond the area of Lindisfarne. For there are indications, especially in Bede's eighth-century-verse life, that he was being regarded as a patron saint of Northumbria.

St Cuthbert was to become especially attached to Durham and in particular to the site of the later city of Durham; not least, because, according to some accounts, this was deemed to be where the saint wished his final resting place to be, as he made clear two hundred years after his death. According to a twelfth-century account, the monks of Lindisfarne had carted St Cuthbert's body about the north of England following the Viking attacks, until reaching Durham when the cart that carried the saint and his shrine became 'as immoveable as a mountain'.[8] Thereafter, the cult of St Cuthbert was promulgated by his

6 Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the Landscape: Religion, Identity and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 2011, 567.

7 See Chapters 8 and 9 in this volume.

8 Symeon of Durham, *Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham*, ed. and trans., David Rollason , Oxford, 2000, 144–47. Cuthbert's fate was shared by the seventh-century St Ildephonsus of Toledo whose remains were translated to the north of Spain following the Islamic invasion of the Iberian peninsula and who possessed a 'celestial garment' presented to him by the Virgin Mary which was found to be intact by four Spanish bishops in Oviedo in 1598. See, María Tausiet, *El dedo robado. Reliquias imaginarias en la España Moderna* [A prodigious garment: a relic becomes real in early modern Spain], in: *Abada*, Madrid, 2012.

community who preserved the memory of his life and wonders and tended his sacred tomb.[9] The cult survived into the Norman period, when a Benedictine community was introduced as the cathedral chapter in 1083, which resolved to show themselves worthy servants of the cult.[10] The change was skilfully justified by Symeon 'historian of Durham and the north', a monk who joined the community in about 1090, and who was determined that subsequent bishops would not challenge the new Benedictine order.[11] Accordingly, in 1104 the saint's remains had been inspected again and once more confirmed to be uncorrupted, before they were moved to their final resting place in a magnificent shrine in the new Norman cathedral, under the guardianship of the Benedictine community. A visit to the saint's shrine became an essential part of any progress through the north of England. For instance, the future Pope Pius II visited in 1436, King Henry VI in 1448, King Richard III in 1483 and King Henry VII's daughter, Margaret, in 1503. The border saint, Cuthbert, had become unequivocally associated with North-East England.

The character of the Anglo-Scottish borderlands in the early modern period has generated considerable debate.[12] What is not in doubt, however, is the fact that the area did have a distinct character by its very nature as a frontier when the Anglo-Scottish wars had forced lords to declare their allegiance to either England or Scotland.[13] And, it is in this context that St Cuthbert was specifically deployed by the English in their martial efforts against the Scots. The resumption of hostilities between the two kingdoms in the 1290s had prompted the English King Edward I to insist that the Durham monks carry the saint's relics on his expeditions against the Scots. This was followed by a similar order by Edward II on his first Scottish campaign in 1307 and again by Edward III in

9 Alan Thacker, Lindisfarne and the origins of the cult of St Cuthbert, in: Grelad Bonner/David Rollason/Clare Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and Community to AD 1200,* Woodbridge, 1989, 103.

10 A.J. Piper, The first generation of Durham monks and the cult of St Cuthbert, in: Bonner/Rollason/ Stancliffe, *St Cuthbert*, 437, 445.

11 Piper, The historical interests of the monks of Durham, in: Rollason (ed), *Symeon of Durham. Historian of Durham and the North*, Stamford, 1998, 301–2.

12 Maureen Meikle, *A British Frontier? Lairds and Gentlemen in the Eastern Borders, 1540–1603*, East Lothian, 2004, especially chapter 8; Steven G. Ellis, Tudor state formation and the shaping of the British Isles, in: Ellis/Sarah Barber, *Conquest and Union: Fashioning a British State, 1485–1725*, Harlow, 1995; Newton, *North-east England*, especially chapter 4. And see Chapter 1 in this volume.

13 Steven Ellis, Region and frontier in the English state: the English far north, 1296–1603, in: Ellis/Raingard Esser with Jean-Francois Berdah/Milos Reznik (eds.), *Frontiers, Regions and Identities in Europe*, Pisa, 2009, 78, 81.

the 1330s.[14] According to the so-called 'rites of Durham', the night before the battle of Neville's Cross, in 1346, John Fosser, prior of Durham, had a vision in which he was instructed to place the corporax cloth with which St Cuthbert had covered the chalice when he said mass, 'like unto a banner cloth upon a spear point' and have it carried throughout the battle. Thus victory would be ensured, 'by god's grace and mercy by the mediation of holy Cuthbert'.[15] Shortly after the predicted English victory Fosser 'caused a goodly and sumptuous banner to be made' which was 'dedicated to holy St Cuthbert, of intent and purpose that the same should be always presented and carried to any battle as occasion should serve, and which was never carried at any battle but by the especial grace of god almighty and the mediation of holy St Cuthbert it brought home the victory'.[16] Concomitantly, it has been suggested that one of the many mistakes made by the English forces against the Scots at Otterburn – which resulted in a catastrophic and bloody defeat for the English, in 1388 – was the failure of John Fordham, bishop of Durham, to bring the banner of St Cuthbert to the battle.[17]

The banner continued to ensure English victories against the Scots well into the sixteenth century. In 1513 it was carried at the battle of Flodden where Scotland's king, James IV, and the cream of his nobility was cut down. Writing to cardinal Thomas Wolsey (designated as Almoner), Thomas Ruthall, bishop of Durham, recounted the taking and partial destruction of his castle at Norham by the king of Scotland but that he trusted that he will have the ways and means to renew it within a few years with 'the helpe of Almyghtie God and Seint Cuthbert'.[18] Ruthall's faith that God and 'my patrone Seint Cuthbert' will avenge the deed was realized on 9 September at Flodden after a great battle in

14 Barrie Dobson, The church of Durham and the Scottish borders, in: Anthony Tuck and Anthony Goodman, *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, London, 1992, 147.

15 *A description of all the ancient monuments, rites and customes belonging or beinge within the monastical church of Durham before the suppression; written in 1593*, ed. J.T. Fowler, Surtees Society, 1842, 23. For the context in which this was produced see p. 00.

16 *Rites of Durham*, 25–6.

17 Dobson, The church of Durham, 147–8. The assumption is based on the fact that neither the Durham feretrar's account roll nor the bursar's roll for 1388–89 records the dispatch of the banner. The feretrar was the 'shrine keeper' at monastic cathedrals who, at Durham, was obliged to present their own financial accounts

18 TNA: PRO SP 1/5, ff 47–9. Printed in *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. J.S. Brewer and others, London, 1862–1910, I, no. 2283. Reproduced in Sir Henry James, *Facsimiles of National Manuscripts from William the Conqueror to Queen Anne*, Southampton, 1865–68, II, 5–8. My thanks to Steven Ellis for this reference.

which the king and the greatest part of Scotland's nobles and lords were 'venquyshed, overthrowen and slayne', notwithstanding their superior numbers, weapons, nourishment and position while the English victory was 'by the veray hande of God, with the helpe and merites of the glorious Confessour Seint Cuthbert' rather than the agency of men. The victory was further assisted by St Cuthbert's banner which was set upon by the Scots who 'had most dis[re]pect to the said banner', while for the English, 'fewe or noon being under the same banne wer slayn thoughe many hurte'. The king of Scotland, by contrast, was slain very close to his own banner which was taken with St Cuthbert's banner when it was returned to his church at Durham 'which for a memorial now standeth beside the shrine there'. In a continuation, Ruthall observed that if the king of Scotland 'had not provoked Saynt Cuthberthe he mowzt [might] have doon moche more harme'. A considerable sum was spent on repairing the banner, for future use, which came less than ten years later when it was again carried in battle against the Scots in 1522. According to a letter from the Earl of Surrey, a leader of the English army, written the following year, King Henry VIII had sent him word that 'in nowise should I goo no further than *St. Cuthbert's Banner* might go with me'.[19] It was quite clear, therefore, that at this stage Henry VIII was fully convinced of the efficacy of the saint's support for England against the Scots.

James IV's saint of choice seems to have been St Ninian; a fifth or sixth-century saint who was credited with converting the Picts and with building Candida Casa (the white house) at Whithorn, in south-west Scotland, which became a major Scottish pilgrimage centre and was visited regularly by James IV.[20] But, while Scotland's king had turned his back on St Cuthbert, the number of churches dedicated to the saint and place names in both England and Scotland embodying his name attests to the continued potency of the cult of St Cuthbert on both sides of the border. The money-raising preaching tours undertaken by Durham's monks in the twelfth century took in Perth and Dunfermline, as well as places in northern England.[21] At the same time, visitors to the island of the Inner Farne the following century came from locations in Northumberland and Lothian; a trend which continued at least to the closing years of Edward III's

19 W.H.D. Longstaffe, The banner and cross of Cuthbert, in: *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 2nd ser., 2, 1858, 51–65 at 61 and 62.

20 Dauvit Brown, 'James IV', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)*.

21 Victoria Tudor, The cult of St Cuthbert in the twelfth century: the evidence of Reginald of Durham, in: Bonner/Rollason/Stancliffe, *St Cuthbert*, 465–6.

reign, in the 1370s, as Scots and Englishmen made pilgrimages to the Farne Islands. The Scottish royal family also took an interest in the cult, reinforcing the Scots' claims on the saint. The brother of King Edgar had been present at the opening of the saint's tomb in 1104; David I stayed in Durham on his way north in 1113 or 1114 before his accession; Ada, the mother of King Malcolm IV, twice experienced the saint's healing powers before her death in 1178;[22] while the oldest document in Edinburgh's Register House is the charter granted by King David I, in 1127, to St Cuthbert's church in Edinburgh.

It has been argued that the sanctity of St Cuthbert gradually lost potency for the Scots throughout the Middle Ages, but a recent study of the various manifestations of devotion to him in late medieval Scotland reappraises the role of the saint and his cult north of the border.[23] For instance, kin groups, such as the Douglases and Dunbars, venerated St Cuthbert throughout the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries as a natural part of lordship in southern Scotland; and there is little indication that they ever viewed Cuthbert as an exclusively English saint. The late fifteenth century saw the first recorded use of the forename Cuthbert by a cluster of noble families in areas with traditional links to the saint. The feast of St Cuthbert was marked in a number of private liturgical documents from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. There were a number of fresh altars dedicated to the saint in Scottish churches during this period – thirty-six of which were south of the Forth – and a dedication to St Cuthbert could be found in the church of St Giles, in Edinburgh (now the cathedral).[24] Edinburgh was also home to a fraternity dedicated to the saint; so that, for many late medieval Scots, St Cuthbert had not become a partisan supporter of English arms with his banner, but remained the powerful monk from the monastery of Melrose in Scotland, where he began his religious life. Indeed, although Melrose was a border region in later centuries, in Cuthbert's time it would have been close to the heartland of the ancient kingdom of Northumbria which, of course, straddled Scotland as well as England.

All this was to change in the sixteenth century when the cult of saints was an early victim of the reformation launched by Henry VIII in the 1530s. In 1536 and 1538 injunctions were issued that have been described as effective-

22 David Rollason, *Cuthbert, Bishop of Lindisfarne*, ODNB.

23 Tom Turpie, A monk from Melrose? St Cuthbert and the Scots in the later middle ages, *c.*1371–1560, in: *The Innes Review* 62, 1, 2011, 47–69.

24 Sally Crumplin, Rewriting history in the cult of St Cuthbert from the ninth to the twelfth centuries, PhD dissertation, St Andrews, 2004, 195.

ly declaring war on the cult of saints, which was the 'heartbeat of medieval popular religion'.[25] The injunctions of 1536 took a moderate stand against images in churches and against pilgrimages, while banning some holy days and saints' days. In a letter to his bishops in November 1536, the king declared that 'matters indifferent' not necessary for salvation included the honoring of saints, images, relics and pilgrimages which were 'honest, laudable and tolerable ceremonies'.[26] The injunctions of 1538, however, considerably extended the earlier ones of 1536 by prohibiting veneration of images and relics, which dovetailed with the attacks on shrines and monasteries. The evidence from churchwardens' accounts demonstrates that, from 1536, offerings and images were indeed disappearing from parish churches across the kingdom.[27] There are no surviving churchwardens' accounts for Durham for this period, but the fact that thousands of people were prepared to risk their lives in the Pilgrimage of Grace, in October 1536, motivated in part by opposition to the religious changes taking place, indicates that their effects were making themselves felt sufficiently to cause deep concern and prompt radical action. Not least was the connection between saints and identities. Documents relating to the Pilgrimage specifically refer to the cult of saints and, significantly, the Durham contingent marched behind the banner of St Cuthbert throughout their involvement in the venture.[28] Following the Pilgrimage's failure, a deposition of its leader, Robert Aske, recounted that county Durham assembled daily with Lords Neville, Latimer and Lumley and 10,000 men together with 'the Banner and armies of Cuthbert'; thereby firmly identifying the Durham contingent with its saint.[29] However, the rebellion was primarily focused upon Durham and Yorkshire, shifting the focus away from the Anglo-Scottish borders to the southernmost parts of North-East England, and, thus, introducing an internal division within the kingdom.

25 Peter Marshall, *Reformation England 1480–1642,* London and New York, 2003, 54.

26 *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XI, no. 1110.

27 Robert Whiting, Abominable idols: images and image breaking under Henry VIII, in: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33, 1982; Felicity Heal, *Reformation in Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 2003) 107; A.D. Brown, *Popular Piety in Late Medieval England: The Diocese of Salisbury 1250–1550*, Oxford, 1995, 57–63; R. Whiting, *The Blind Devotion of the People: Popular Religion and the English Reformation*, Cambridge, 1989, 54–5; *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, XII, i, 204.

28 See, M.L. Bush, *The Pilgrims' Complaint: A Study of Popular Thought in the Early Tudor North*, Farnham, 2009, 91–4, 109–10, 180–1. St Cuthbert and his banner is dealt with specifically at 92–3 which notes that a silver cross confiscated from the Scottish king in 1346 was attached to the banner along with the corporax cloth.

29 Longstaffe, Banner, 62–3.

With the king's declaration of war on the saints the relationship between the crown and St Cuthbert had to be radically recalibrated as the king of England's champion was transformed into his enemy. There seems to have been little evidence that the Henrician injunctions had the immediate and drastic effect in Durham that they had elsewhere in England. But, in July 1541 a proclamation was issued entitled 'Altering feast days and fast days' in which King Henry willed and commanded that 'all such superstitious observations be left and extinguished throughout all this his realm and dominions'.[30] It was probably no coincidence that this followed another attempt at regime change in northern England in March 1541 – known as the Wakefield Conspiracy – after which the king went on progress to the north where he expressed his dismay at the number of shrines remaining.[31] Those of St Cuthbert and Bede were certainly gone from the cathedral by 30 November 1541 however, for the accounts of Durham abbey record that workmen were being paid to carry them away.[32]

But the battle against the saints was still to be won. The accession of Edward VI in 1547, which was seen by some as an opportunity for more radical reform, was heralded by a proclamation which ordered that the clergy must not 'allure the people by any enticement to the pilgrimage of any saint'.[33] There was also a rapid growth of iconoclasm precipitated by a royal injunction issued the same year, which included an order to 'deface all popishe ornaments in parishe churches' throughout the kingdom. After Edward's death, his half-sister Mary issued a proclamation in 1554 which commanded 'that all manner of processions of the church be used, frequented and continued after the old order of the church'. But, this was followed by yet another proclamation by Elizabeth in 1559 forbidding 'any procession about the church or church yard'.[34] Given that Durham's Corpus Christi Day festivities featured a magnificent procession, at which St Cuthbert's banner had played the starring role, this would have hit the *haliwerfolc* of Durham particularly hard, striking at the very identity of the people of the saint.

30 *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, ed. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, New Haven, 1964–9, I, 301–2.

31 Christopher Sansom, The Wakefield conspiracy of 1541 and Henry VIII's progress to the North reconsidered, in: *Northern History* 45, 2, 2008; *The King's Book 1543*, ed. T.A. Lacey, London, 1895, p. xi.

32 *Extracts from the Accounts of the Abbey of Durham*, ed. J.T. Fowler, Surtees Society, 1900, iii, 741.

33 Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Proclamations*, I, 393–403 at 394.

34 Ibid., II, 35–8 at 37 and 117–32 at 122 .

Otherwise, the dizzying about turns from central government seemed to make little impression in Durham itself. And, although the terms of the letters patent issued in 1541 for the new foundation of the cathedral church at Durham decreed that the dedication was changed from 'St Mary and Cuthbert' to 'Christ and the Blessed Virgin', some of the 'ancient monuments' connected with the shrine of St Cuthbert certainly were still in the cathedral in the 1560s according to an account of George Dobson, one of the choristers there.[35] Even under the radical reformer James Pilkington, who became bishop in 1561, there appears to have been just one charge of iconoclasm levelled against him which had nothing to do with St Cuthbert'.[36] Yet, the same Bishop Pilkington had also declared that 'where the gospel is preached ... knowing that God is not pleased but only with a pure heart' should have 'only a pulpit, a preacher to the people, a deacon for the poor, a table for the communion, with bare walls, or else written with scriptures' – and he had gone on to crow that 'our papists weep to see our churches so bare ... with nothing in them to make curtsey to'.[37] The fragmentation of North-East England's very particular identity, predicated on its relationship with its saint, seemed to be unstoppable.

The English Catholics did not acquiesce willingly, however; for in 1569 the north of England rose in rebellion, again. This was part of a wider scheme to replace the English queen, Elizabeth, with her cousin, Mary, queen of Scotland. But it was also an expression of religious fervour with its leaders, the Earls of Westmorland and of Northumberland, issuing a proclamation making it plain that 'the settinge forthe of his trewe and Catholicke religion' should be the principal motive for joining them in rebellion.[38] Accordingly, the earls and their followers' opening action was to destroy all evidence of Protestantism in Durham cathedral and to celebrate a Catholic mass there. Yet, while Sir Ralph Sadler,

35 *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham: With Other Documents, Relating to its Foundation and Endowment by King Henry the Eighth and Queen Mary*, ed. Alexander Hamilton Thompson, Surtees Society, 1929, p. xxxiv; *Dobson's Drie Bobbes*, first pub, 1607, ed. E.A. Horsman, Oxford, 1958, 83.

36 J.F. Hodgson, The Church of Auckland St Andrew, in: *Archaelogia Aeliana*, 2nd ser., 20, 1899, 169.

37 Exposition upon Haggai in *The Works of James Pilkington*, ed. James Scholefield, The Parker Society, 1842, 129.

38 The earls' proclamation, issued from Darlington, on 16 December 1569, is at BL MS Harleian, 6990, fo. 44, and printed in Anthony Fletcher and Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Tudor Rebellions,* 5th edn, Harlow, 2008, 150. For a reassessment of the rising see, K.J. Kesselring, 'A cold pye for the papists': constructing and containing the northern rising of 1569, in: *Journal of British Studies*, 42, 2004, 417–43 and *The Northern Rebellion of 1569. Faith, Politics and Protest in Elizabethan England*, Basingstoke, 2007.

Elizabeth's trusted agent, dismissed 'the comen people' as 'altogether blynded with tholde popishe doctrine', when the fabric of the cathedral and many parish churches was being restored and rites and practices revived, there is no mention of St Cuthbert by the deponents in the consistory court records.[39] Moreover, the banner of St Cuthbert was not available for the 1569 rebels for it had been destroyed by Katherine Whittingham, wife of William Whittingham, the dean of Durham from 1563. It was later reported that, 'being a Freanche woman … [she] … did most injurously burne and consume the same in hir fire, in the notable contempt and disgrace of all anncyent and goodly reliques'.[40] At a stroke, this French Calvinist had deprived the people of North-East England of their saint and their past. No doubt, the irony of Scotland's 'auld ally' delivering the killer blow to St Cuthbert's banner was not lost on the *haliwerfolc*'s successors.

Meanwhile, the English had taken their battle against the saints across the border into Scotland. The opening salvos had already been fired by 'the Lollards of Kyle'. Cited before King James IV and his great council in 1494, they averred that 'images are not to be had, not yitt to be worshipped' and that 'the relicts of sancts are not to be worshipped'.[41] But it was English troops – during the so-called 'rough wooing' of the young Mary, Queen of Scots, in the 1540s – whose military iconoclasm stripped the Scottish church of much which had made its piety live.[42] In 1544, Edinburgh bore the brunt of English aggression against its churches, including the church of St Cuthbert. The border towns also suffered badly, with abbeys associated with St Cuthbert being devastated in 1548. By the late 1550s, when Scotland was in the grip of religious civil war, Scottish reformers were enthusiastically engaging in iconoclasm so thoroughly that it was reported that 'not a vestige of the ancient superstition and idolatry is left'.[43] Certainly, when the Earl of Argyll and Lord James Stewart entered Edinburgh on 29 June 1559, 'all monuments of idolaltrie within the toun, and in places adjacent, were suppressed and removed', while attempts by the queen's

39 TNA: PRO SP 15/15/30; Sir Ralph Sadler, *The State Papers and Letters of Sir Ralph* Sadler, ed. A. Clifford, Edinburgh, 1809, ii, 53–4; Palace Green Library, University of Durham, DDR/EJ/CCD/1/2.

40 *The Life and Death of Mr William Whittingham, Deane of Durham, Who Departed this Life anno domini 1579, June 10,* ed. A.E. Green, Camden Miscellany, 1871; *Rites of Durham*, 23.

41 These were extracted by John Knox from the Register of Glasgow. Printed in David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland*, ed. Thomas Thompson, Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842–49, I, 49–50.

42 Alec Ryrie, *The Origins of the Scottish Reformation*, Manchester, 2006, 78.

43 Ibid., 186.,

faction to reinstate them were 'resisted stoutlie' by the 'professors of Edinburgh ... avouching, that of conscience they might not suffer idolatrie to be erected where Jesus Christ was truelie preached'.[44]

The following August, there was a call for 'praying to sancts departed' to be abolished by act of parliament which resulted in the Confession of Faith, shortly followed by the First Book of Discipline which condemned the observance of festival days and declared 'that ceremonies invented by men ought to be changed, when they foster superstition rather than edify the Kirk'. In 1561, the first article issuing from the second General Assembly of the Kirk stated 'that idolatrie, and all monuments therof, should be suppressed throughout the whole realme'.[45] Soon after, St Cuthbert's legacy fell victim to the reformers at the height of Scotland's civil war between the forces of Mary, Queen of Scots, and her son, James, when the king's party found itself in control of Edinburgh. For they set fire to the church of St Cuthbert in January 1573, marking it as a target of the reforming party. However, in late 1584 the two ministers of St Cuthbert's were dismissed for their reluctance to accept the dictates of the so-called 'Black Acts' – acts which denied the authority of the presbyteries and sparked fears for the future of the reformed church in Scotland.[46] St Cuthbert was transformed from Scotland's martial foe on the Anglo-Scottish borders into Scotland's spiritual enemy at the confessional interface.

In the sixteenth century confessional identities – which transcended physical, cultural and social identities – were introduced into the complicated mix of identity formation. The notion that Catholics formed a distinct group with a very clear sense of identity – demonstrated, for example, in the 1569 uprising – is undermined by the fact that shared northern Catholic identity was between men from Yorkshire and Durham, rather than from Northumberland and Durham.[47] And, as religious identity became increasingly polarised, and further fragmented, with the emergence of varieties of Protestantism, the point that 'identity is often easier to recognise by its absence than for its presence' was becoming increasingly clear. For, 'even if they are not sure what they have in common with one another, human groups can define themselves in their

44 Calderwood, *History*, I, 475, 500–1.
45 Ibid., II, 12, 126; William Scot, *An Apologetical Narration of the State and Government of the Kirk of Scotland since the Reformation*, Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1846, 9.
46 Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1981, 144, 164.
47 Newton, *North-east England*, 121

opposition to those who are not like themselves'.[48] In this sense, the identity associated with St Cuthbert came to mark a clear sense of 'otherness' within the physical boundaries of England's North-East.

This was made explicit as the commemoration of the cult, rather than the saint, took on more significance. The difficult years of the 1590s, marked by economic distress and foreign wars, which impacted particularly heavily on England's north-eastern counties, appear to have triggered a concerted effort to recover the 'glories' of Durham's past. Of particular significance were the so-called 'Rites of Durham', based on a document produced in 1593, which dwelt, at considerable length, on the magnificence of the cathedral church of Durham and included a detailed description of the banner and the festivities celebrating St Cuthbert.[49] The 'rites' also reverted to the traditional position by harking back to the long-standing hostility between the English and the Scots with the Scots only featuring as an enemy to be defeated with the assistance of St Cuthbert.

In 1603, the Anglo-Scottish border was set to disappear with the union of the crowns in the person of King James VI of Scotland and I of England. During James's minority in Scotland the General Assembly had consistently maintained its struggle against the saints.[50] But it was fighting a losing battle, especially after the young king began taking control. With the so-called 'Black Acts', it was reported in 1593 that since the holding of ceremonies was 'reft from the kirk, a fearfull schism hath entered, with intruding Popish ceremonies'.[51] Throughout the 1590s – when its king looked increasingly likely to accede to the English throne – the Scottish kirk paid close attention to the state of the English church which, it declared, was only partly reformed with Henry VIII having 'not so much abolished Poperie as the Pope' which was from 'the earnest longing of the saints therfor expressed' and his own ambition.[52] The General Assembly's fears about the future of the Scottish kirk seem to have been confirmed as the observance of saints' days and other ceremonies stepped up after James's departure for England. The Five Articles of Perth which he drew up after his return to Scotland, in 1617, threatened to restore the saints to their traditional place in the liturgy as the fourth article provided for the observation

48 Ted Royle, Introduction: regions and identities, in: Royle (ed.), *Issues of Regional Identity; In Honour of John Marshall*, Manchester, 1998, 10.
49 *Rites of Durham*.
50 Calderwood, *History*, III, 281–2, 333, 347, 352–3, 383–4, 503, 590, IV, 648, 657–8.
51 Scot, *Apologetical Narration*, 64.
52 Calderwood, *History*, IV, 734.

of holy days which was problematic because it was reminiscent of Catholic saints' days.[53]

King James's more relaxed attitude to saints was reflected almost immediately in England. The Jesuit, Robert Parsons, wrote his treatise about the conversion of the English which recalled the role of St Cuthbert in counselling King Alfred that his neglect of England's saints had contributed to Danish victories. Parsons went on to condemn John Foxe's more recent 'impudency' in rejecting ancient saints, especially St Cuthbert.[54] The saint was restored to his place straddling the confessional divide with two further pieces produced at the beginning of the seventeenth century that offered completely different perspectives on St Cuthbert and his cult. The first of these, originating from August 1603, was clearly a continuation of the sentiments in the 'rites of Durham' from the previous decade when the monastic past and then its trauma were still within living memory.[55] Accordingly, its anonymous compiler presented the traditional view of the cult and community of St Cuthbert based on its early (Catholic) historians which was a clear celebration of Durham's (Catholic) bishops. The second piece was by Robert Hegge, written most probably in 1626.[56] Although clearly celebrating the life of the saint, he was rather more sceptical in regard to the cult that grew up about him after his death. With Durham having in 1541 become a royal foundation – which owed its existence, privileges and possessions to King Henry VIII – its monastic past had been jettisoned.[57] Hence, while Hegge extolled the saint 'as a glorious Starre of the first magnitude [who] shyned in the Firmament of this Church', he was extremely critical of St Cuthbert's community. For, Lindisfarne had 'become the Stage whereupon *St. Cuthbert* acted all his Miracles' and he condemned 'what advantage the Monkes took of the Blind Devotion of that Age' which was superstitious and gullible.[58] Moreover, Hegge was also an enthusias-

53 Ibid., VII, 52–3, 196, 289, 298; Scot, *Apologetical Narration*, 201–2, 238, 246, 254–5, 267–8. And see, Laura A.M. Stewart, The political repercussions of the Five Articles of Perth: a reassessment of James VI and I's religious policies in Scotland, in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 2007, 1014.

54 Robert Parsons, *A treatise of three conversions of England from paganisme to Christian religion*, *c*.1603, 419–20, 422.

55 Thomas Rud (ed), *The origin and succession of the Bishop's [sic] of Durham, printed from the original manuscript in the Dean and Chapter's library at Durham*, Darlington, 1779.

56 *The legend of Saint Cuthbert or the histories of his churches as Lindisfarne, Cunecscastre, and Dunholm, by Robert Hegge 1626*, Darlington, 1777.

57 *The Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Durham, with other Documents Relating to its Foundation and Endowment by King Henry the Eighth and Queen Mary*, ed. J. Meade Fowler, Surtees Society, 1929, 3–63.

58 Hegge, *Legend*, 5.

tic scientist (being an authority on sun-dials) and hence was not disposed to be convinced by the deeds of Durham's monastic community.

Hegge was not persuaded by reports of St Cuthbert's uncorrupted body, either. The later sixteenth-century Catholic activist, Nicholas Harpsfield, gave an account of the breaking open of the saint's tomb by Henry VIII's commissioners in 1537 which revealed the incorrupt state of his body, albeit with a broken tibia and missing tip to the nose.[59] And the 1603 tract recorded that when the sepulchre of St Cuthbert had been opened by Henry VIII's commissioners 'the hole Corpes of *St. Cuthbert*, with all things about the same, was found incorrupted, whole, sound, sweet' after which it was 'vewed, touched and searched by sundry Persons, both of the Clergye and others, and afterwards laid in a new Coffin of Wood'.[60] But, by the 1620s, an entirely different construction was put upon the event by the more sceptical Robert Hegge. He opined that the saint, having attracted so many treasures 'that the Monkes needed not to study Alchymie for Gold, having such a Philosophers stone as *St. Cuthberts* Tombestone', was a target of Henry VIII who had the tombs of saints broken open to seek out treasure. St Cuthbert's tomb was opened so violently that his leg was broken. Otherwise, continued Hegge, his body was still entire apart from the tip of his nose which, he observed, was a 'small matter in a carcass that had wanted a Soule above 800 yeares', while his clothes looked as if they had been kept in a wardrobe. Hegge considered that: 'All this might be true, and yet *St. Cuthbert* more beholden to the art of his Monkes, then to his own Sanctity for his Incorruption. For the old *Ægyptians* did not think they made their Kings Saints ... [when] they preserved their Bodyes from Putrefaction.'[61]

Not only was the anonymous author of the 1603 tract convinced of the uncorrupted body of the saint, he also recorded how 'the wonderfull Miracles which almighty God wrought by this his glorious Saint, as well in his life, as after his arrival to the joyes of Heaven' had motivated princes and noblemen to endow the 'Bishopps See and Church' with 'great Privileges, Liberties, Landes, and Possessions'.[62] Hegge was frankly shocked and demanded: 'How could the Monkes choose but (like Magicians when they meet together) to laugh one at another, to see Royaltie so dejectet'.[63] In particular, he deplored how king

59 N. Harpsfield, *Historia Anglicana ecclesiastica*, Douai 1622, 105. Apparently there was also a ring which Harpsfield claimed to have kissed as a divine momento and which was later kept in Paris. My thanks to Dr Margaret Harvey for this information.
60 Rud, *Origin and Succession*, 28.
61 Hegge, *Legend*, 23.
62 Rud, *Origin and Succession*, 3.
63 Hegge, *Legend*, 14, 16.

Alfred was 'cheated of his Sovereignty by those Monkes that had now got the art of enslaving the Devotion of Princes to their private ends; for at this tyme also, the great *Alfred* swore Fealty to *St. Cuthbert* and his Clergy, by whose help they perswaded him, that he had got the Victory over the *Pagans*'. For, King Alfred eventually freed the inhabitants of Cuthbert's land from tribute to King Guthrum – regarded by Hegge as being to the detriment of royal authority – and he was further dismayed by the devotion of Alfred's grandson, Athelstan, who went barefoot in pilgrimage to Cuthbert's shrine.

At the same time as Hegge was expressing his concerns in England's north-eastern parts at the threat to England's monarchs, a new form of self-consciously confessional *historia sacra* or 'sacred history' was playing a significant role in the reshaping of regional identity on the Continent.[64] For example, such histories were being used to dispute the French crown's authority in Brittany, by promoting Celtic identity and regional privilege through the intercession of its adopted fifth-century saint, Ferrer.[65] And in Germany, Matthaeus Rader had published his *Bavaria Sancta*, between 1615 and 1628, which deployed propaganda through popular culture and hagiographies, to confound the invisible boundaries of confessional difference that were standing in the way of advancing the Counter Reformation in Bavaria.[66] Accordingly, pre-Reformation devotions and pilgrimage shrines were revived which had been demolished by the Calvinists.[67] The process was paralleled in Durham in the 1620s, when bishop Richard Neile was similarly reversing the work of his Calvinist predecessors – who had held sway in Durham for the past fifty years – by restoring much of the beauty of holiness in the cathedral church. St Cuthbert was thus returning to his customary place at the forefront of Durham's ecclesiastical life. Neile's successor, bishop John Howson, quickly acknowledged the importance of his new diocese's saint when he informed archbishop Laud that the archbishop of York had no authority to conduct a metropolitan visi-

64 See Trevor Johnson, Bavaria, the Upper Palatinate and Counter-Reformation 'Historia Sacra', in: Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Eßer (eds), *Frontiers and the Writing of History, 1500–1850*, Hannover-Laatzen, 2006.

65 Elizabeth Tingle, The Catalan saint and Celtic identity: the cult of St Vincent Ferrer in seventeenth century Brittany, in: *Church History*, forthcoming.

66 Johnson, Bavaria.

67 But, as well its crucial role in cementing the Catholic identity of Bavaria, Rader's hagiography also justified its annexation of the Upper Palatinate, ousting king James's Protestant daughter and son-in-law.

tation in Durham because the people of Durham recognized only 'God, King and Cuthbert'.[68]

While Neile's work restored their saint to the heirs of the *haliwerfolc*, and reinvigorated their sense of identity, it was regarded by some as bolstering royal authority at the expense of the localities. At the same time, the reintroduction of time-honoured traditions and practices into the cathedral church of Durham and, especially, the material and liturgical changes, fractured the cohesion of the cathedral community as it attracted the wrath of many. The most vociferous critic was the prebendary, Peter Smart, who voiced his disapproval with increasing rage, culminating in a notorious sermon delivered in the cathedral on 27 July 1628.[69] Smart was in no doubt that his fellow prebendary, John Cosin, had 'violently inforced the observation of those ceremonies, going about the church like a mad man' with the result that 'Popery and Superstition … are like to overthrow the whole Byshoppricke of Durham'. But, support for Smart and his views appears to have been very limited in Durham, with no evidence among the justices of the peace, nor from the clerical community, of shared opposition to the changes. It has been argued that many of the county's gentry found something reassuring about the visual and aural experience of services with an Arminian emphasis;[70] while the alternative, Scottish Presbyterianism, which was more readily observable to the inhabitants of the north-eastern reaches of the kingdom, was regarded unenthusiastically. Smart was arrested within hours of completing his sermon and proceedings against him began in the high commission court.[71]

John Cosin had been one of the stoutest defenders of Durham's customs since his arrival in the diocese as a prebend in the 1620s when he had composed a tablet over Bede's tomb in the cathedral which likened Durham to having the head of King Oswald and the body of Cuthbert, thereby conjoining the two saints as custodians of the diocese's welfare.[72] St Cuthbert received official recognition for the first time since the Reformation from King Charles I, who

68 TNA: PRO, SP 16/162/32, 33.

69 *The vanitie and downe-fall of superstitious ceremonies: or, a sermon preached in the cathedral church of Durham by one Peter Smart, a preaband there, July 27. 1628*, Edinburgh,1628. See also, *John Cosin. Correspondence: with other papers illustrative of his life and times*, ed. G. Ornsby, Surtees Society, 1869, especially, 184, 195.

70 M.J. Tillbrook, Aspects of the government and society of county Durham, 1558–1642, PhD dissertation, University of Liverpool, 1981, 477–582.

71 *The Acts of the High Commission Court within the Diocese of Durham*, ed. W.H.D. Longstaffe. Surtees Society, 1858, 197ff.

72 Durham Dean and Chapter Library, Hunter MSS, XIII, 16.

paid his respects at his tomb on his way to Scotland in 1633. The fissure between saint and crown looked set to be healed by a relationship that appeared to include both the king of England and the king of Scotland.[73] But, within five years, harmony was shattered with the signing of a National Covenant, in Edinburgh, in February 1638, which resolved to 'maintain the said true religion' in Scotland. Committed to the eradication of 'calling upon angels or saints departed' and the abolition of 'observing the festival days of saints', an army arrived in North-East England determined to 'condemn the monuments and dregs of bygone idolatry'.[74] Accordingly, the Scots engaged in the destruction of the cathedral during their occupation of North-East England in 1640–42.[75] The bishopric was abolished and the dean and chapter suppressed thereafter. It seemed that the legacy of St Cuthbert and his community was to be vanquished by the (Presbyterian) Scots after all.

But, with the restoration of the diocese of Durham in 1660, and John Cosin's appointment as its bishop, the saint and his community's fortunes changed once again. Twenty years of neglect and devastation were reversed in the cathedral and the new bishop resumed his veneration of St Cuthbert whom he continued to honour as part of his commitment to 'search and study the Rights and Antiquities of the Church of Duresme', adding his own annotations to the manuscript of 'the Rites of Durham' and noting particularly his regret at the loss of the shrines of Bede and Cuthbert.[76] Above all, Cosin was advocating that 'beauty in holiness' was to be harnessed to give access to the kind of power exercised by Cuthbert – protective, reassuring and effectual against dark forces that might erupt into human life, marking a kind of middle way between Puritanism, which aimed to confront such forces with charismatic prayer, and Catholicism with the invocation of angels and saints.[77] St Cuthbert was once more at the confessional interface but, this time, his position seemed to be one of conciliation between the two.

73 *Cosin Correspondence*, 212.

74 John Rushworth, *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State: Volume 2: 1629–38*, London, 1721, 734.

75 C.J. Stranks, *This Sumptuous Church: The story of Durham Cathedral*, London, 1993, 51–4. A continuation to the 'rites' produced at the end of the seventeenth century deplored the destruction of tombs and suchlike by the Scots. *Rites of Durham*, 39–40, 163.

76 Adrian Green, The power and the glory: the architectural patronage of John Cosin, in: Scott Mandelbrote (ed.), *Music and Religion in Seventeenth-Century Cambridge: The Peterhouse Partbooks*, Woodbridge, forthcoming.

77 Mervyn James, *Family, Lineage and Civil Society: A Study of Society, Politics and Mentality in the Durham Region, 1500–1640*, Oxford, 1974, 125, 197.

Meanwhile, St Cuthbert has been steadily enhancing his posthumous reputation as 'the most benevolently charismatic of all British saints'.[78] He is celebrated at Cuthbert's tide each March in the cathedral and, on 4 September 2005, his name was restored to the historic dedication of the cathedral, 901 years after his body and relics were first translated there and over 450 years since they were desecrated by Henry VIII as part of his Reformation. Indeed, the cathedral is currently branded as 'Durham Cathedral, the shrine of Cuthbert' and preparations for the temporary return to Durham of the Lindisfarne gospels embrace a host of activities designed to commemorate him right across the region. Durham's saint was back in town and their regional saint had been restored to the successors of the *haliwerfolc*. Yet, of course, he never really left. Even since the Reformation he has been regularly invoked by antiquaries and historians from across the religious spectrum who recognized the saint's centrality to the identity of Durham. But, above all, while all identities are multi-layered and shifting and evolve over time as religious and political contexts alter, throughout the various retellings and changing interpretations of St Cuthbert's story his significance in Durham remains unchallenged.

78 Rollason, *Cuthbert*, ODNB.

Dennis Hormuth

Border Region and Propaganda

Livonia as a Bulwark of Christianity in the Sixteenth Century

This chapter will analyse the perception and depiction of Livonia in early modern times; it is limited to the two analytic concepts of the present volume: frontiers and border regions. Both concepts were used by early modern authors to describe Livonia; however, these authors did not use these modern terms themselves. Frontiers and border regions are modern and analytical terms. In this case study both terms are combined with questions of periphery and religion. Livonia as a frontier can be understood as a basis for the development of Livonia as a border region. This preliminary remark is necessary to comprehend the order of sections in this chapter. My focus lies on the political argument directed at an audience in the Holy Roman Empire with a particular aim in mind: to obtain support for defending Livonia against Russian troops during the sixteenth century. In order to explain Livonia as a frontier it is necessary to understand how these arguments could work: Livonia had been known as a country, where the Christian faith has been contested from the time of its origins. In the second section the depiction of Livonia as a border region will be explained in greater detail. The third section will show that this concept only worked in a specific historical situation: Livonia could no longer be described as a religious border region after the sixteenth century.

Regarding questions of perception and depiction, a region like Livonia could be analysed on the basis of the heuristic theory of mental mapping. Mental mapping is based on the social construction of spaces and has been developed by Roger Downs and David Stea, who investigated the daily use of images of the environment within the process of orientation.[1] Created for small-scale units and individuals this concept is also used to analyse larger areas and collectively shared imaginations. 'Spaces are not, they are made'[2] is the title of a paper by Hans-Dietrich Schulz, which summarizes this theorem perfectly. In the humanities, re-

1 Roger Downs/David Stea, *Kognitive Karten. Die Welt in unseren Köpfen*, New York, 1982.

2 Hans-Dietrich Schulz, Räume sind nicht, Räume werden gemacht. Zur Genese 'Mitteleuropas' in der deutschen Geographie, in: *Europa Regional*, 5, 1997, 2–14.

searchers combine this approach, which is based on processes of orientation, with questions of identity, cultural prejudices and ideas of togetherness and otherness. From this point of view, space does not exist as a cultural or social construction[3] before human action and perception. It is the result of human behaviour.[4] Said's *Orientalism*,[5] Todorova's *Balkans*[6] and Wolff's *Inventing Eastern Europe*[7] are the best known works on this approach. These authors discuss the Western European perception of the named regions and the attitudes towards them. They demonstrate that the attributions given to these regions reveal more about Western identity than about the conditions in the regions themselves. Unlike these authors I will not only focus on a view from outside, but also on the self-image of early modern Livonians and the mutual influences of Livonian and non-Livonian statements. The analysis is limited to early modern writers and their attitude towards historical and contemporaneous Livonia. Due to the fact that most of the common Estonians and Latvians in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were unable to write and thus did not publish books, this chapter is therefore limited to an exploration of the ruling German upper class in Livonia.[8]

Livonia as a frontier during the Middle Ages and early modern times

Regions are created by humans. Individuals declare a physically existing area to be a region and name it. In this case the landscape received the name Livonia in the twelfth century, an area which is approximately covered today by Estonia

3 For social constructivism compare: Peter Ludwig Berger/Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*, Garden City, 1966.

4 Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf/Béatrice Hendrich, Orientierungsleistungen räumlicher Strukturen und Erinnerung. Heuristische Potentiale einer Verknüpfung der Konzepte Raum, Mental Maps und Erinnerung, in: Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf/Angelika Hartmann/Béatrice Hendrich (eds.), *Mental Maps – Raum – Erinnerung*, Münster, 2005, 25–48.

5 Edward Said, *Orientalism*, London, 1978.

6 Maria Todorova, *Imaging the Balkans*, New York, 1997.

7 Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilisation in the Mind of the Enlightenment*, Stanford, 1994.

8 Most likely there is an exception. The most famous chronicler of early modern Livonia, Balthasar Rüssow, seems to be an Estonian by birth. Compare: Paul Johansen, *Balthasar Rüssow als Humanist und Geschichtsschreiber*, Quellen und Studien zur Baltischen Geschichte 14, ed. by Heinz von zur Mühlen, Köln, 1996, 115–35; Karsten Brüggemann, Die Chronica der Prouintz Lyfflandt von Balthasar Rüssow. Ein lutherischer Pastor als politischer Chronist, in: Klaus Garber/Martin Klöker (eds.), *Kulturgeschichte der baltischen Länder in der Frühen Neuzeit. Mit einem Ausblick in die Moderne*, Tübingen, 2003, 265–81, here 268.

and Latvia. When Christian merchants came to the Baltic shores at the water mouth of the Dvina, where a comparatively small number of Livonians lived, they named the whole country after these people. The Germans conquered the land and brought Christianity to its inhabitants.[9] The order of conquest and Christianization was not chosen by chance, although most participants from the German party saw that from a different angle.[10] The Danes were also involved in that process in collaboration, as well as in competition, with the Germans.[11] Finally they sold their part of Livonia to the Teutonic Order after an uprising of the Estonian peasants in the 1340s.[12] Lithuanian and Russian hosts were involved in fighting again and again. The Russian participation will be an important topic in this chapter.

With regard to American nineteenth-century history, Frederick Jackson Turner promulgated in 1893 a concept of frontier which still has a significant influence on the historical academic community, although it has been criticized.[13] Stefan Donecker and Imbi Sooman worked out the sustainability of the Turnerian concept of frontier for studying the Baltic Sea Region.[14] Most of the nineteenth-century American settlers perceived the West as a wilderness with barbarous peoples who did not have an idea of culture or of religion – as did the German and Danish crusaders and settlers in twelfth and thirteenth-century Livonia.

9 The process of Christianisation is described well by Wolfgang Bender, Bernhard II. zur Lippe und die Mission in Livland, in: Jutta Prieur (ed.), *Lippe und Livland. Mittelalterliche Herrschaft im Zeichen der Rose*, Bielefeld, 2008, 147–68; Heinz von zur Mühlen, Livland von der Christianisierung bis zum Ende seiner Selbständigkeit (etwa 1180–1561), in: Gert von Pistohlkors (ed.), *Deutsche Geschichte im Osten Europas. Baltische Länder*, Berlin, 2002, 25–172.

10 Compare the eye-witness account of Heinrich von Lettland, *Livländische Chronik*, Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters 24, translated by Albert Bauer, Darmstadt, 1959. For context and greater detail read in general: Marek Tamm/Linda Kaljundi/Carsten Selch Jansen (eds.), *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier: A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, Ashgate, 2011.

11 Anti Selart, *Livland und die Rus*, Quellen und Studien zur baltischen Geschichte 21, Köln, 2007, 44–51; Thomas Riis, *Studien zur Geschichte des Ostseeraums IV: Das mittelalterliche dänische Ostseeimperium*, Odense, 2003, 61–73 and 79–90.

12 Martin Pabst, Der Aufstand in der St. Georgsnacht 1343, in: *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschtums* 57, 2010, 9–16.

13 Read the 1921 edition: Frederick Jackson Turner, The significance of the frontier in American history, in: Turner (ed.), *The Frontier in American History*, New York, 1921, 1–38.

14 Imbi Sooman/Stefan Donecker, Introduction: the many frontiers of the Baltic, in: Sooman/Donecker (eds.), *The 'Baltic Frontier' Revisited: Power Structures and Cross-Cultural Interactions in the Baltic Sea Region*, Vienna, 2009, 11–24.

The German priest and crusader Henry of Livonia reports on the judgement of God in conjunction with human sacrifice, removing baptism by bathing in the river Dvina and an unawareness of goods of culture and craftsmanship like cement.[15] To him the indigenous peoples of Livonia were uncultured. The readers of his chronicle were supposed to be horrified by the possibility of human sacrifice and to laugh about the ignorance of Christian rites and craftsmanship.

This attitude towards the indigenous people of Livonia had an impact on the German-Livonian upper class up to and during early modern times, which even intensified, as a quotation from the seventeenth-century chronicle of Gustav von Lode shows, who had been a colonel in the Swedish military service, a judge in Estonia and a member of the Estonian knighthood:<ex>

> At all times they [the indigenous peoples] led a godless, naughty, weird, wild and unruly life, performed odious idolisation, adored sun, moon, stars, even snakes and impure animals furthermore trees and grove, they dealt with the devil's arts, blessing and witchcraft … Furthermore they had been stout-hearted and overbold people, who were anxious for robbery.[16]

These attributions were mainly given to the ancestors of the Estonians and Latvians, but also to the contemporary peasants. The secretary of the Estonian knighthood Moritz Brandis (1550–1601) mentioned with regret that 'unfortunately even today many poor non-Germans in our country are heavily attached to such godless behaviour'.[17] It has not been fear or disgust that made Brandis and Lode write these words, but pity and mercy. Perhaps it had also been shame. It had been the Germans' duty to teach religion and the true meaning of Christianity to the Estonians and Latvians, as they had been owners and rulers

15 Heinrich von Lettland, *Livländische Chronik*, 4 and 6.

16 Lode's chronicle has been continued by Otto Fabian von Wrangell, Kurtzer Extract derer Öst- undt Liefländischen Geschichten, die sich vor undt nach Christi, unsers Herren undt Seligmachers, Geburth biß auf diese Zeit zugetragen, ed. Carl Julius Albrecht Paucker, *Landrath Wrangell's Chronik von Ehstland nebst angehängten Ehstländischen Capitulations-Punkten und Nystädter Friedensschluß*, Dorpat, 1845 [Reprint Hannover-Döhren, 1969], 1–178, here 8: '*Sie [die indigenen Völker] sind … allezeit eines Gottlosen frechen, wüsten, wilden undt unbändigen Lebens gewesen, haben abscheuliche Abgötterey getrieben, Sonne, Moondt, Stern, ja Schlangen undt unreine Thiere, ingleichen Bäume und Höltzer angebethet, sindt mit teufelß Künsten, Segen sprechen und Zauberey umbgegangen … Über daß sind sie gantz Raub begierige, beherzte undt verwegene Leute gewesen*.'

17 Moritz Brandis, Der 1ste Theil Liefflandischer Geschichte. Wahrhaffte und ordentliche Verzeichnisswürdige Haendel, so sich in der Province Liefland, vor und nach Christi unsers Herrn und Seligmachers Geburt … verlaufen und zugetragen …, in: Carl Julius/Albert Paucker (ed.), *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*, vol. 3, Riga, 1840 [reprint Osnabrück, 1968], 17: '*noch leider heutiges Tages dergleichen Gottloses Wesen vielen armen undeutschen im Lande hefftiglich anhänget*'.

of Livonia for more than 400 years. But they failed, as the Lutheran priest and citizen of Reval, Balthasar Rüssow, pointed out in his famous and contemporarily widespread chronicle, which had been published in three editions between 1578 and 1584. He claimed that the German upper class was responsible for the lack of knowledge of Christian religion and customs among the Estonians and Latvians.[18]

To early modern German–Livonian authors, Livonia was a frontier as Turner understood it. However, this point of view only refers to former times, especially to the time of and before Christianization. In early modern times this kind of imagination no longer worked. Gradually it turned into a reflection on responsibility and care. Even criticism of the German conquest of Livonia arose. In 1796, when the Enlightenment had already made an impact in Livonia, the German–Livonian Garlieb Helwig Merkel published a book about the fate of the Latvians. He blamed the Germans and held them to be responsible for the premature ending of the Latvians' process of becoming a cultured nation. The German conquest of Livonia and German rule hindered this development.[19]

Livonia as a border region

Due to the fact that regions and borders are located in space and time, one has to look at the question as to where the authors at the beginning of early modern times positioned Livonia on their mental maps. First of all two authors ought to be quoted who had never been to Livonia, but whose works had essential influence on their contemporaries and on historians.

In his contemporaneously widespread chronicle of the world, which has been published in Latin and in German, the humanist Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg named Livonia 'the last area and province of the Christians'.[20] So he cited Livonia at the border of the space of his identificational reference: at

18 Balthasar Rüssow, *Chronica der Provintz Lyfflandt* …, 2nd edn, Bart, 1584 [reprint Hannover-Döhren, 1967], IIa.

19 Compare Garlieb Helwig Merkel, *Die Letten vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts. Ein Beitrag zur Völker- und Menschenkunde*, Leipzig, 1796 [reprint Wedemark, 1998]. For greater detail of this question read: Dennis Hormuth, Die Christianisierung als politisches Argument in der livländischen Publizistik der Frühen Neuzeit, in: *Zapiski Historyczne*, 76, 2011, 43–61, especially 52.

20 Hartmann Schedel, Chronik von Anfang der Welt bis 1493, Nürnberg 1493, fol. CCLXXVIII verso: '*Die letst gegent und provintz der cristen*'.

the border of Christian Europe, or to be more precise: at the border of Catholic Europe. It is obvious that he did not include Orthodox peoples into his own space of reference. He declared Livonia as a borderland which separated the Christian and civilized world from a foreign and non-Christian space far away. Thus the expression 'the last area' has the meaning of 'the farthest extent' of Christendom.

Martin Luther, in 1523, addressed a letter to the townspeople of Livonia with the term 'you at the end of the world'.[21] What he meant by this is not clear at all. Either he wanted to say *very far away* or he wanted to refer to the position of Livonia at the border to the Orthodox world. The latter seems to be more likely if one keeps the meaning of Schedel's *last area* in mind and if you consider the propaganda[22] which had been performed during two campaigns of indulgence between 1503 and 1510 in the Holy Roman Empire in favour of the Livonian military efforts against Russia.[23]

Since the time of Christianization there had been many wars between German Livonians and Russians. But with the expansion of the Grand Duchy of Moscow and the incorporation of Novgorod the Great in 1478 there grew a rising military danger east of Livonia.[24] The master of the Teutonic Order was in need of money to finance his wars and the defence of Livonia. Certainly, indulgences had been offered during Christianization of Livonia, but the crusades resulting from them had been fought to conquer Livonia and to baptize the Livonians. In contrast the new indulgences at the beginning of the sixteenth century aimed at financially supporting the Teutonic Order for their

21 Letter of Martin Luther to all Christians in Riga, Reval and Dorpat in Livonia, 1523, in: Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde der Ostsee-Provinzen Russlands (ed.): *Luther an die Christen in Livland*, Riga, 1866, 1: '*ihr am End der Welt*.'

22 For a position in favour of the use of the term *propaganda* in this context read: Matthias Thumser, Antirussische Propagana in der 'Schönen Historie von wunderbaren Geschäften der Herren zu Livland mit den Russen und Tataren', in: ibid. (ed.), *Geschichtsschreibung im mittelalterlichen Livland*, Schriften der Baltischen Historischen Kommission 18, Berlin, 2011, 133–53.

23 Axel Ehlers, *Die Ablasspraxis des Deutschen Ordens im Mittelalter*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 64, Marburg, 2007, 385–402.

24 For the rise and expansion of Moscow in general, see: Peter Nitsche, Die Mongolenzeit und der Aufstieg Moskaus (1240–1538), in: Manfred Hellmann (ed.), *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands, vol. 1, I: Bis 1613. Von der Kiever Reichsbildung bis zum Moskauer Zartum*, Stuttgart, 1981, 534–715; for the incorporation of Novgorod the Great and Pskov: ibid., 635–645; for the Livonian–Russian relationship see: Maike Sach, *Hochmeister und Großfürst. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem Deutschen Orden in Preußen und dem Moskauer Staat um die Wende zur Neuzeit*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des östlichen Europa 62, Stuttgart, 2002, 97–105.

wars against the Russians, who were a heretical and schismatic people in the eyes of sixteenth-century western Europeans.[25]

The two campaigns of indulgence at the beginning of the sixteenth century have been performed mainly in the western parts of the Holy Roman Empire, where the major part of the members of the Teutonic Order and Livonian settlers had been recruited since the twelfth century. These two campaigns have been supported and propagated by a treatise, the *schonne hysthorie*, which summarizes the Russian threat to Livonia with a historic argumentation.[26] Just like Schedel and Luther the unknown author of the *schonne hysthorie* located the province Livonia 'at the end of German and Christian lands of holy and beneficial Roman faith, located between north and east and wide enclosed by the cruel Russians in the east.'[27]

Preaching indulgences had been the means to get support at the beginning of the sixteenth century as well as in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was easy to construct a connection between both periods of time. As mentioned above Russian hosts had been involved in the wars during the time of Christianization. At the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth century there was war against Moscow again.

Thus, the Livonian frontier became a border region. At its borders especially to the east there grew at least in the authors' minds a true borderline. Behind the border lived the Russians, a non-Christian and barbarian people. From this point of view there was no need for the German upper class to distinguish themselves from the Estonians and Latvians, who belonged to the *us* although Christianization among them had not been concluded, as, for example, Rüssow alluded to, as mentioned above. From his perspective there was no awareness of pioneering or wilderness left, though cultural and religious differences still existed between the German upper class and the Estonian and Latvian peasant population. The above mentioned campaigns of indulgence between 1503 and 1510 seem to be the starting point of the imagination of Livonia as the bulwark and the border region of Christianity. This depiction is based on the long-last-

25 Papal bull of indulgence from 22 November 1506, in: Leonid Arbusow (ed.): *Liv-, est- und kurländisches Urkundenbuch 2, 3*, Riga/Moskau, 1914, no. 122, 77–86, here 78: '*contra Ruthenos hereticos and scismaticos*'.

26 Compare again Thumser, Antirussische Propaganda.

27 Eynne Schonne hysthorie van underslyken geschefften der heren tho lyfflanth myth den Rüssen vnde tartaren, ed. by Carl Schirren, in: *Archiv für die Geschichte Liv-, Est- und Curlands*, 8, 1861, 115–80, here fol. 3b: '*ynt ende van duschen vnde chrysten landen des hyllygen vnde heylsamen roemesken gelouens tusken dem osten vnde norden gelegen vnn weith vnmeher besloten ynt osten van den grusamen Russen*'.

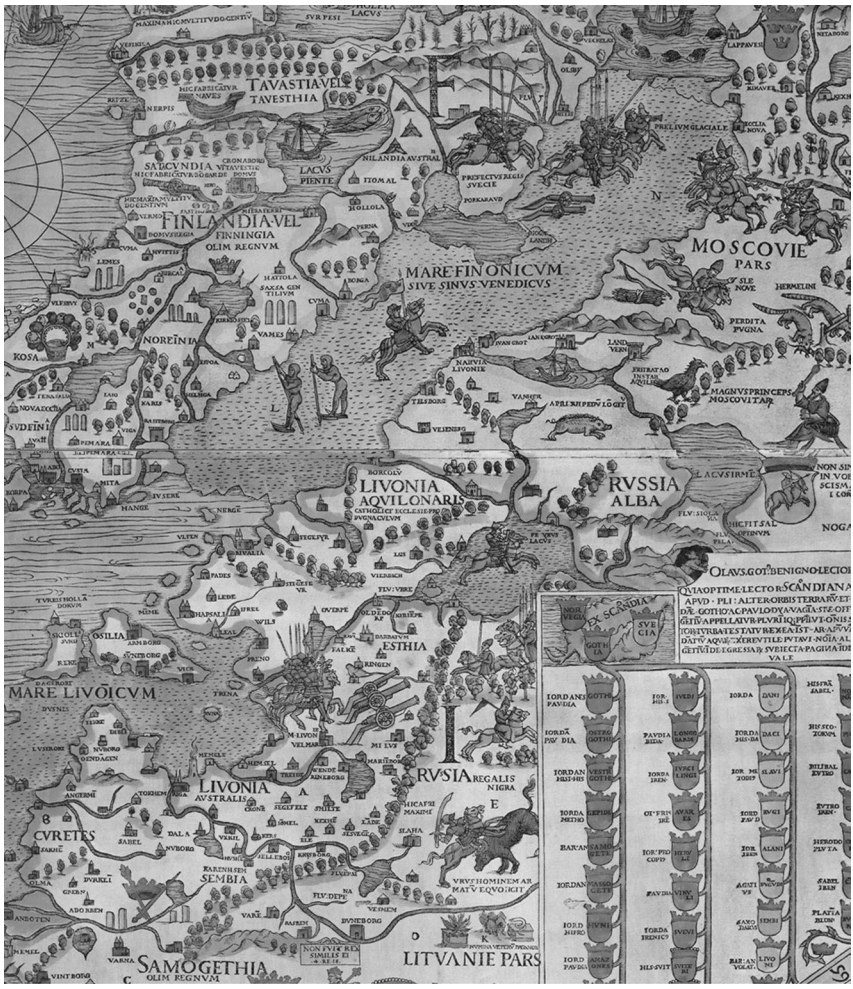


Figure 1 Detail of *Carta Marina*, 1539: Livonia
Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ea/Carta_Marina.jpeg (accessed 26 February 2013).

ing tradition of Livonia as a country, where Christian – and now especially Western Christian – faith had been contested by heathens – and now Orthodox – peoples. These two campaigns brought this new constructed point of view to the attention of the German public in the Holy Roman Empire.

The unknown author of the *schonne hysthorie* pointed to the danger which might arise for the entirety of Christendom if the Russian Tsar Ivan III should conquer Livonia and especially the Livonian ports: 'thereby they … would reach into all Christian world, which God may avert'.[28] To prevent this, the Christians had to buy an indulgence so that the Teutonic Order would be able to defend Livonia: 'And therefore Livonia is a bulwark or a forecastle of universal Christendom against the mentioned enemy [the Russians] as long as it will be saved and relieved, as the papal bull of this indulgence further explores'.[29] It is noticeable that the image of a bulwark constructs a defensive position, which includes a perception of the Russians as the aggressors. The intention was to produce an extensive identification with the hard-pressed and threatened Livonians and to encourage solidarity.

Some years later the imagination of Livonia as a bulwark against non-Christian Russians came to Western Europe on a second channel. Olaus Magnus, a Swedish scholar who remained true to the Catholic faith and had to emigrate from Sweden after the Reformation, published in 1539 in Venice a map of northern Europe. Magnus also published a commentary on his map in Latin and soon after Italian and German translations. He modified the translations in favour of the envisaged public, with the German version being more precise on military details (see Figure 1).[30]

In regards to the forced exile of Magnus, it is astonishing that he depicted the religious antagonism not so much between Roman Catholic and Lutheran beliefs, but rather between Western and Orthodox Christianity.[31] This shows the importance of the confrontation with the Russians in

28 Eynne Schonne hysthorie, fol. 9a: '*dadorch se … gelangen mochten yn alle chrystene warlth, dat goth mothe verhoden*'.

29 Eynne Schonne hysthorie, fol. 25b–26a: '*Vnn darvmme Lyfflanth eyne vormure edder vorschlyth ys der gemeynen chrysthenheyth yegen gemelthen vynde, so langge dat gereddeth vnde enthsetteth werth, als dat ock de pauestlyke bulle dusses afflathes myth mern vthforet*.'

30 Elena Balzamo/Reinhard Kaiser: *Olaus Magnus. Wunder des Nordens*, Frankfurt a. Main, 2006, 43. This book also includes a black and white reprint of the originally coloured map and the commentary translated into modern German.

31 Maike Sach, Karthographie als Verlustbeschreibung and Appell: Die Carta Marina des Olaus Magnus von 1539 als Beitrag im Ringen um die Einheit der Kirche, in: Tanja Michalsky/Felicitas Schmieder/Gisela Engel (eds.): *Aufsicht – Ansicht – Einsicht. Neue*

Figure 2 Detail of *Carta Marina*, 1539: 'bulwark of the Catholic church' ['*Catholice ecclesie propvgnacvlvm*']
Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/ea/Carta_Marina.jpeg (accessed 26 February 2013).

northern Europe to the scholar and it shows his perception of the Orthodox Russians being a more dangerous threat for Catholic Europe than the Reformation.

The border between Western and Orthodox Christianity is depicted by an outlying row of trees, which is more dense in Livonia and more noticeable than on other parts of the map. At both sides of the borderline there are men at arms ready for battle. Livonian guns are already directed against Russia. A little north of Livonia a battle between Swedish and Russian troops seems to have already begun. In his commentary Magnus related this confrontation between Russia and Sweden to their belonging, respectively, to the Grecian and to the Western

Perspektiven auf die Kartographie an der Schwelle zur Frühen Neuzeit, Frankfurter kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge 3, Berlin 2009, 197–225, here 212. For the description of the Russians on this map and in its commentary in general compare: Maike Sach, Andere, fremde Nordländer. Die Darstellung von Russen auf der Carta Marina und in der Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus des Schweden Olaus Magnus, in: Dennis Hormuth/Maike Schmidt (eds.), *Norden und Nördlichkeit. Darstellungen vom Eigenen und Fremden*, Frankfurt a. Main, 2010, 41–72.

Church.[32] In this context an additional detail is important. Magnus named the northern part of Livonia explicitly as a 'bulwark of the Catholic church' (see Figure 2).

The image of Livonia as a bulwark of Christendom established by the two campaigns of indulgence in 1503–10 and by the *Carta Marina* had a great influence on sixteenth-century politics. In 1558 the Russian Tsar Ivan the Terrible started a war against Livonia. What was initially intended to be a punitive raid soon became a long lasting war about the possession of Livonia between Moscow, Sweden, Poland-Lithuania and the younger brother of the Danish king, Duke Magnus of Holstein. The Livonian War lasted from 1558 to 1582/83 and consisted of several wars with several alliances.[33] In the perception of Livonian chroniclers it was just the 'long-lasting Muscovite War',[34] as Rüssow mentioned. Even when he described the Danish–Polish troubles surrounding Stift Pilten in Courland he used the term 'Muscovite War'.[35] This confirms his opinion of the Russians as the enemies.

At the beginning of the war the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire discussed the Livonian situation and officially decided to collect imperial financial support for Livonia in order to defend it against Tsar Ivan the Terrible. But few of the estates paid their part.[36] Although Livonia was partly occupied by the

32 Balzamo/Kaiser, Wunder, 72.

33 For an extensive discussion on the backround of the Livonian war see: Norbert Angermann/T. Lange, Am Vorabend des Livländischen Krieges: Die Positionen der politischen Hauptkräfte Livlands gegenüber Russland, in: Aleksandr Filjuškin (ed.), *Baltijskij vopros v konce XV–XVI vv.*, Moskva, 2010, 32–9; Norbert Angermann, *Studien zur Livlandpolitik Ivan Groznyjs*, Marburg a.d. Lahn, 1972, 1–24; Georg von Rauch, Stadt und Bistum Dorpat zum Ende der Ordenszeit, in: *Zeitschrift für Ostforschung*, 24, 1975, 577–625; Erik Tiberg, *Zur Vorgeschichte des Livländischen Krieges. Die Beziehungen zwischen Moskau und Litauen 1549–1562*, Uppsala, 1984; William Urban, The Origin of the Livonian War, 1558, in: *Lituanus. Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 29, 1983, www.lituanus.org/1983_3/83_3_02.htm (accessed 12 July 2010). For the military and political happenings see: Alexander Filjushkin, *Ivan the Terrible: A Military History*, London, 2008, 150–238; David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World 1492–1772*, London, 1990, 107–18.

34 Rüssow, *Chronica*, 2b, 31a, 35a and 111a: '*langwerigen Moscowitisschen Kryge*'.

35 Ibid., 134b: '*Muscowitisschen Krych*'.

36 E. Reimann, Das Verhalten des Reiches gegen Livland in den Jahren 1559–1561, in: *Historische Zeitschrift*, 35, 1876, 346–80; Maximilian Lanzinner, *Friedenssicherung und politische Einheit des Reiches unter Kaiser Maximilian II (1564–1576)*, Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 45, Göttingen, 1993, 409–22. The documents of the Imperial Diet are published in: Deutsche Reichstags-Verhandlungen über Livland vom Jahr 1559 und 1560, ed. by Karl Heinrich von Busse, in: Eduard Frantzen (ed.), *Monumenta Livoniae Antiquae*, vol. V., Riga, 1847 [reprint Osnabrück, 1968], 706–48.

Russians in the aftermath and the other parts were partitioned amongst Sweden, Denmark and Poland-Lithuania, so that Livonia was separated from the Holy Roman Empire, the Imperial Diet put the Livonian question on the agenda again in 1570. The Imperial Estates spoke highly of the German–Livonian knighthood, who preserved and ruled Livonia 'as a strong bulwark against the Muscovites'.[37] The picture of Livonia as a bulwark, which had been established by the *schonne hysthorie* and the *carta marina*, did have influence on political discussions.

The Livonians addressed their requests for support during the Livonian War not only to the Holy Roman Empire, but also to an association to which the Livonian towns had long been members of: the Hanseatic League. According to the secretary of the Riga town council, Johann Schmied, these requests had been justified with their 'relationship based upon Christian love, doctrine, faith, also with knowingly association, confederation and obligation … as their brothers in faith and allies'.[38] This argument worked. The Hanseatic Diet from 1576 conceded fivefold of the annual contribution in favour of Reval, which was in danger of being besieged by Russian troops again after 1570/71. Reval also begged for an additional supply of war material. Several towns complied with this request, others did not. With regard to this chapter the importance of this action arises in the argument of the Hanseatic towns in their letters to Reval. The town council of Wismar referred to the Muscovites[39] 'as the enemy of Christendom'.[40] Other councils made use of the terms 'arch-enemy' or 'hereditary enemy', which bears connotations of the devil.[41]

37 Bedenken der Reichsstände wegen des Kriegs in Livland (1570), in: Maximilian Lanzinner (ed.), *Deutsche Reichstagsakten. Reichsversammlungen 1556–1662. Der Reichstag zu Speyer 1570*, vol. 2, Göttingen, 1988, no. 325, 732–6, here 733: '*als ein vesste vormauer gegen die moscowitter*'.

38 Alexander Bergengrün (ed.), *Die Aufzeichnungen des rigaschen Rathssecretärs Johann Schmiedt zu den Jahren 1558–1562*, Leipzig, 1892, 34: '*aus vorwandtnuss Chriestlicher liebe, lehr, glaubens, auch bewuster einigung, confederation und vorpflichtung … als ihren glaubens- und bundesgenossen*'.

39 'The Muscovite' ('Der Moskowiter') is a contemporary collective name, which has been used to describe the Russian people, the Russian host or the Russian ruler depending on the context. It could also be used non-specifically. Andreas Kappeler, *Ivan Groznyj im Spiegel der ausländischen Druckschriften seiner Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des westlichen Russlandbildes*, Zürich, 1972, 231.

40 Roland Seeberg-Elverfeldt, *Revaler Regesten. Beziehungen der Städte Deutschlands zu Reval in den Jahren 1500–1807*, Veröffentlichungen der niedersächsischen Archivverwaltung 22, Göttingen, 1966, no. 487: 'alß ein feiendt der Christenheit'.

41 Ibid., no. 500, 502.

This denotation was obviously not widespread within Livonia itself. Only one contemporary chronicler used it. Salomon Henning, who was secretary of the last Livonian master of the Teutonic Order, Gotthard Kettler, wrote in his chronicle: 'Nobody ... is unaware, that from the beginning the Muscovite ubiquitously has been a hereditary enemy to these Livonian landscapes and, yes, to all Christendom'.[42] The same author places the conflict with the Muscovites on the same level as the conflict with the Turks, using a familiar image of his time. Andreas Kappeler pointed out the close correlation between the Muscovite and the Turkish threat to the Roman Christianity in the Western European collective consciousness since the battle of Mohács in 1526.[43] So accordingly Salomon Henning even named the Muscovites 'Turks'. If, as Henning pointed out in regards to the Northern Seven Years' War of 1563–70, Denmark, Sweden and Lübeck had not been at war against each other, they could have caused harm to the 'Turks'.[44]

The denotation of Livonia as a bulwark against the Russians and the Russians as hereditary enemies of Christendom have been used as political arguments with a particular aim. These images had been created to convince the Christians of Western Europe to support the Livonians in their wars against the Russians. It was not necessary to convince the Livonians themselves, as they had been naturally involved in these wars, which took place in their homeland.

Two points illustrate that the bulwark image worked outside Livonia: its use at the Imperial Diet and the financial support granted by the towns of the Hanseatic League, who expressively made reference to the Christian faith and the Russians being the hereditary enemy of Christendom. Livonia was imagined as being at the end of the Christian world and as the battleground of the Christian defence against Russia, which was understood to be non-Christian. It became the bulwark of Christendom against the non-Christian Russians. Thus the whole of Livonia can be understood as a border region.

42 Salomon Henning, *Lifflendische Churlendische Chronica. Was sich vom Jahr Christi 1554. biß auff 1590. … gedenckwirdiges zugetragen*, Leipzig, 1594 [reprint Hannover-Döhren, 1968], 1a: '*Es ist niemand ... vnwissend, Das der Moscowyter anfangs hero, vnd in allewege, ein Erbfeindt dieser Liefflandischen Landschafften, Ja wol der gantzen Christenheit gewesen*'.

43 Kappeler, *Ivan*, 242. For European discourse about the 'Turkish threat' compare: Almut Höfert, *Den Feind beschreiben. 'Türkengefahr' und europäisches Wissen über das Osmanische Reich 1450–1600*, Campus historische Studien 35, Frankfurt a. Main, 2003, 51–6; Winfried Schulze, *Reich und Türkengefahr im späten 16. Jahrhundert. Studien zu den politischen und gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen einer äußeren Bedrohung*, München, 1978.

44 Henning, *Chronica*, 37b: 'Türcken'.

Russian Livonia: what remained of the concepts of frontier and border region?

The imagined bulwark was not long lived. Soon after the Livonian War it was rarely used. In the seventeenth century Livonia continued to be a battlefield for more than one war, mostly between Sweden and Poland-Lithuania, but Russia also played a part in it. However, there appears to be little evidence of Livonia being perceived as a border region of Christendom. In the Holy Roman Empire the attitude towards Russia changed during the middle of the seventeenth century. One reason might be the military success of Russian troops against the Turks.[45]

During the Great Northern War (1700–21) Russian troops occupied Livonia and stayed in possession of it for 200 years. At that time it was not opportune to distinguish oneself from Russia or the Russians distinctly or even to distinguish oneself at all. In addition, what reasons would there have been for the German upper class of Livonia to complain about Russian rule over Livonia in the eighteenth century? They still represented the political and social upper class; they still governed Livonia on their own; and they retained their old privileges. The sole alteration was the overlord. From one point of view the situation improved under Russian rule. There was more autonomy in administration as Ralph Tuchtenhagen concludes very pointedly in his comparison between Swedish and Russian rule in the early modern Baltic: 'The provinces [as Livonia] had the position towards Sweden like partial states have towards an empire. Under Russian rule the relationship became the same as one state has to another'.[46]

Certainly, Russia had been the enemy of Livonia during the Great Northern War. Some authors again described the Russians as being cruel, barbaric and non-Christians, as did, for example, the Lutheran priest Christian Kelch, whose parish had been devastated by Russian troops. He stated that the Russians had started 'a most wrongful and godless war'[47] and behaved in a barbaric

45 Lutz Spelge, Das Russlandbild der livländischen Chroniken des 17. Jahrhunderts, in: Norbert Angermann (ed.), *Deutschland – Livland – Russland. Ihre Beziehungen vom 15. bis zum 17. Jahrhundert*, Lüneburg, 1988, 175–204, here 177–8.

46 Ralph Tuchtenhagen, *Zentralstaat und Provinz im frühneuzeitlichen Nordosteuropa*, Veröffentlichungen des Nordost-Instituts 5, Wiesbaden, 2008, 55: '*Die Provinzen … verhielten sich gegenüber Schweden wie Teilstaaten zum Imperium. Unter russischer Herrschaft sollten sie sich wie ein Staat zu einem anderen … verhalten*'.

47 Christian Kelch, Liefländischer Historiae oder Krieges- und Friedens-Geschichte Continuation, in sich haltende was von Anno 1690 ab bis Anno 1706 in dieser Provintz Denckwürdiges vorgegangen …, in: Johannes Lossius (ed), *Christian Kelch. Liefländische Historia. Continuation 1690 bis 1707*, Dorpat, 1875, 133: '*höchst ungerechten und gottlosen Krieg angefangen*'.

manner.[48] After Russia took possession of Livonia in 1710 some German Livonians even emigrated, such as Riga's city councilmen Herbert Ulrich and Peter Haeks.[49] To those, who stayed in Livonia, Russia soon proved not to be the evil overlord some feared it would be.

Under these circumstances the real and mental bulwarks against the Russians finally faded away. German Livonians once again refered to the time of Christianization. In 1791 the historian Wilhelm Christian Friebe argued in his five-volume history of Livonia against German claims of ownership of Livonia: 'if earlier seizure of lands, be it by use of weapons or by contracts, grant bigger rights of possession, then it is beyond dispute that the Russians have better justified claims to the bigger part of Livonia and Estonia than the Germans have'.[50] As a matter of fact one of the first Western European missionaries to Livonia, Meinhard, requested permission to evangelize the Livonians from the Russian ruler of Polock.[51] So Friebe's point of view is founded on historical account. However, interpretations of the political impacts of Christianization changed during the eighteenth century. At the end of the century, German Livonian authors could see Christianization as justification not for German, but for Russian, governance.

The perception of the Russians in general, but especially regarding religious affairs, shifted dramatically. Once Russians had been seen as barbarous, savage, uncultured and first and foremost unchristian, but during the eighteenth century Livonian enlighteners began step by step to sing the praises of the religious tolerance exercised by the Russian government in Livonia. In regards to August Wilhelm Hupel, one of the most famous Livonian publishers in the Age of Enlightenment, not being orthodox was no hindrance to a career in Russian public service. In comparison to France intolerance against other confessions had never been seen in Russia.[52] In 1781 Hupel designed an extremely harmonic and nearly panegyric picture of everyday living alongside each other amongst

48 For example ibid. 306.

49 Heinrich Julius Böthführ (ed.), *Die rigische Rathslinie von 1226–1876*, Riga/Moskau/Odessa, 1877, 195 and 198.

50 Wilhelm Christian Friebe, *Handbuch der Geschichte Lief- Ehst- und Kurlands zum Gebrauch für Jedermann*, 1, Bändchen, Riga, 1791, 76–77: '*Wenn frühere Besitznehmungen von Ländern, es sey durch Waffen oder Verträge, ein grösseres Possessionsrecht gewähren, so hatten die Russen unstreitig gegründetere Ansprüche auf den größten Theil Lief- und Ehstlands, als die Deutschen*'.

51 Heinrich von Lettland, *Livländische Chronik*, 4.

52 August Wilhelm Hupel, Ueber den Nationalcharakter der Russen, in: *Nordische Miscellaneen* 1, 1781, 11–118, here 60–1.

the Christian denominations in Livonia under Russian rule.[53] So there was no longer any need to draw denominational borderlines of trees with men at arms on both sides onto a map.

Livonian enlighteners of the late eighteenth century explicitly counted Russia among the European states. They also counted Russia and the Russians explicitly as part of the Christian faith. A poem shows this clearly, which was written to favour Tsarina Catherine II in celebration of her coronation by Johann Gottfried Herder, who lived and worked in Riga from 1764 to 1769:

> Thus the angels celebrated; thus ran from Jehova's heights
> oil of wisdom, like dew runs from mount Hermon,
> in showers on her pate, and – she became, what she is!
> Monarch, mother, Tsarina,
> arbitrator of Europe,
> goddess of Russia and brightness in the north,[54] –
> all that and even more Catherine became.[55]

Conclusion

Livonia in early modern times is an adequate subject of which to ask questions concerning frontiers and border regions. In this case both concepts are combined by questions of religion, while the first concept has been the basis for the latter one. The frontier concept is based on the confrontation with heathen peoples in a land of conquest. The concept of the border region is based on the confrontation with another Christian denomination, though the Orthodox Russians have been perceived as not being Christian by authors of the Western Church. That is why the many Swedish, Danish and Polish wars over the pos-

53 See August Wilhelm Hupel, Von der großen Religions-Verträglichkeit in Lief- und Ehstland, in: *Nordische Miscellaneen* 3, 1781, 213–17.

54 Until the nineteenth century Russia was perceived as belonging to the north, not to the east. Compare for example: Hans Lemberg, Zur Entstehung des Osteuropabegriffes im 19. Jahrhundert: Vom 'Norden' zum 'Osten' Europas, in: *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 33, 1985, 48–91.

55 Johann Gottfried Herder, Auf Katherinens Thronbesteigung, in: Bernhard Suphan (ed.), *Herder. Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 29, Berlin, 1889 [reprint 1968], 24–7:
'*Da feierten die Engel; da floss von Jovas Höhen*
der Weisheit Öl, wie Tau vom Hermon fliesst,
In Strömen auf ihr Haupt, und – Sie ward, was sie ist!
Monarchin, Mutter, Zarin,
Europens Schiedsrichterin,
Die Göttin Russlands und der Glanz in Norden, –
das alles und noch mehr ist Katharine worden.'

session of Livonia did not have any impact on the perception and depiction of Livonia as a border region. These powers belonged to the Western world and it was not possible to describe them as not being Christian, if you consider a western European public as the addressee. Like the heathens the Russians had been described as barbarous, cruel and aggressive. Early modern authors put the military challenge of Russia in the sixteenth century on the same level with the crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Thus, military expressions found their way into public discourse: Livonia was labelled as a bulwark against non-Christian aggression.

Three criteria were required for this image to work. First was the need to engage with the proper historical situation. There was only a short period of time between the Muscovite capture of Novgorod the Great, with the resulting military danger for Livonia, and the Russian defeat in the Livonian War. Soon after the war Russia underwent a time of troubles, when foreign troops occupied Moscow. When Russia grew stronger again in the middle of the seventeenth century Livonia had been under Swedish and Polish rule for a long time. But the addressee of the bulwark image had been the Holy Roman Empire, not Sweden or Poland-Lithuania.

The second criterion was that the image had to be convincing. Authors could construct their images on the old narratives surrounding Christianization and the crusades, in which the Russians had been involved. It is evident that Russia was not well known in Western Europe. Authors could easily play with the fear of the unknown. Since the European expansion in the sixteenth century, when Western travellers started publishing accounts of Russia this possibility faded away. Russian wars against Muslims made it harder to believe that the Russians were not Christians. At the latest, after the beginning of Russia's rule over Livonia, marked by a distinct tolerance in religious affairs, this image was not convincing at all.

The third criterion was the position of Livonia at a border. A bulwark is always positioned at the limits of something that it should protect. In this case it was Western Europe and Christendom. In Western Europe there was the image of a border to the Orthodox world. German Livonians used this imagery for their own purposes. They combined the position at the border with the task of defending culture and faith not as an end in itself but for the good of all Christianity. The aim was to obtain support for the wars against Russia. Livonia had been seen as the border region of Christendom with the special task of being the defensive bulwark against non-Western aggression. This was propaganda. It worked.

Alison Forrestal

Catholic Missionaries in a Territory of Reunion

The French Crown and the Congregation of the Mission in Sedan, 1642–57

The frontier regions of seventeenth-century France have captured considerable scholarly attention, generally in terms of military occupation and French foreign policy under the belligerent Louis XIV. Although subjected to less scrutiny, analysis of frontier areas during his father's reign has benefited from the important studies of provincial regions undertaken by scholars such as William Beik and James Collins, whose examinations of Languedoc and Brittany respectively have improved our understanding of civic and political relations between centre and periphery in this period.[1] However, both of these regions were *pays d'états* traditionally under French monarchical rule, rather than *pays conquis* as in Lorraine and Savoy, duchies occupied by Louis XIV in 1670 and 1690 respectively.[2] They were also distinguished from the territory of Sedan on the north-eastern border of France, which was acquired by the French crown only in 1642, and whose political status remained contested until 1657. As a frontier region, Sedan was of paramount strategic importance to the French crown, because it formed a line of defence against Habsburg aggression in the Thirty Years war and subsequently in the war that continued between France and Spain until 1659. The ambiguity surrounding the nature and terms of its occupation ensured, however, that the Bourbon takeover of the territory needed to be handled with particular sensitivity to local circumstances and loyalties, not least those of religion, for the majority of the inhabitants were Protestants, just as their traditional rulers, the La Tour dynasty, had been. Simultaneously, because the French crown's principal objective was the perpetuation of its influence in the area, the issues of religious affiliation and identity afforded it

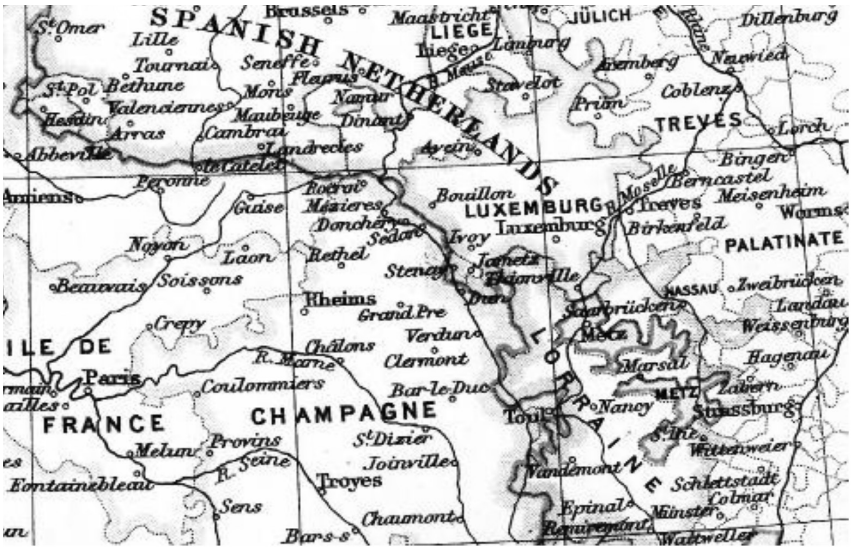
1 William Beik, *Absolutism and Society in Seventeenth-Century France: State Power and Provincial Aristocracy*, Cambridge, 1985; James Collins, *Estates and Order in Early Modern Brittany*, Cambridge, 1994.

2 The French occupied Lorraine from 1670 to 1697, and again partially from 1702 to 1714. They occupied Savoy for six successive years in the 1690s, before returning to occupy between 1703 and 1713: Phil McCluskey, French military occupations of Lorraine and Savoie, 1670–1714, PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 2009.

opportunities to promote its authority in alliance with the gallican branch of the Catholic Church, then well on the path to recovery after the debilitating impact of the religious wars of the late sixteenth century. For those Catholic clerics with whom it chose to collaborate in reintegrating this confessionally divided area, principally the members of the Congregation of the Mission led by Vincent de Paul, Sedan offered new evangelical terrain, in which the ambitions of reformers in the French church might meet success in Protestant conversions and renewed Catholic fidelities under the patronage of the French crown.

Ruled by the hereditary dynasty of La Tour since the middle ages, the occasion for the French takeover of Sedan was the involvement of its then ruler, Fréderick-Maurice de La Tour d'Auvergne, duc de Bouillon, in the Cinq-Mars conspiracy of 1642. Fearing that the chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu, intended to assert French sovereignty over the strategically situated Sedan, Bouillon gambled on a military alliance with Richelieu's court opponents to safeguard his territory, hoping that the removal of the chief minister from power would spell an end to the threat to his lands. The resulting conspiracy of Cinq-Mars, so-called because of the involvement of the king's favourite, the marquis de Cinq-Mars, was a faction of united interests, most seeking to secure their positions in the event of the ailing king's death, and including Louis's brother, Gaston d'Orléans, and his wife, Anne of Austria. Sedan was to serve as a launching pad for armed revolt, or a refuge in the event of discovery. Unfortunately for the conspirators details of their scheme leaked out, so that the cardinal was able to communicate news of it to the king, who ordered the arrest of Cinq-Mars and Bouillon. Meanwhile, Gaston decided to save his skin by confessing to his involvement, with the result that Cinq-Mars was executed in September 1642, and Sedan was swiftly placed under the control of the French crown. It was an annexation long desired by Richelieu, for Sedan formed a weak point in the north-eastern frontier of France, and it contained a fortress which could, he assumed, serve as a major citadel for the patrolling of the entire length of the border.[3]

3 Along with Raucourt and Saint-Menges, two small adjoining territories held by Fréderic-Maurice and also occupied by the French crown in 1642: Simon Hodson, Sovereigns and subjects: the princes of Sedan and dukes of Bouillon in early modern France, *c.*1450–1652, D.Phil., Oxford University, 1999, 329, 350–54. I am grateful to Dr Hodson for supplying me with a copy of his thesis.



France 1618-1648, 1910
J.G. Bartholomew, LLD, A Literary & Historical Atlas of Europe (New York, United States : E.P. Dutton & Co., Ltd. , 1910)
Downloaded from *Maps ETC*, on the web at http://etc.usf.edu/maps [map #01 791]

In the process of assimilation that followed, the monarchy claimed that the territory was not a *pays conquis*, but rather an area of the royal domain which had been temporarily set apart from the rest of its components, and was now rightfully restored to the crown. Reflecting this stance, in February 1644, the royal edict of reunion formally reincorporated Sedan into the royal domain.[4] In reality, however, its status was more ambiguous and distinctive. Historically, La Tour princes had not regarded themselves as subjects of the French king. Rather, they had insisted that they exercised sovereign authority over an independent territory and were therefore entitled to be treated as sovereign princes in French service, who had freely placed their principality under French protection. As a *prince étranger*, Fréderic-Maurice governed a dynastic territory possessing its own systematic body of law and felt quite entitled to remove Sedan from French protection should it serve his interests. However, his assumptions were diametrically opposed to the official position assumed by the French crown in the 1640s, which ignored the privileged relationship that this frontier region claimed to have, and used its taking of Sedan in 1642 and the edict of reunion in 1644 to label Fréderic-Maurice as a rebellious and disloyal subject who was guilty of lese-majesty.

Sedan was further distinguished by the religious diversity of its population, the majority of which were Protestant and the remainder Catholic (totalling approximately 2,500 and 1,500 respectively). Unlike the occupations of Lorraine or Savoie later in the century, which were both almost exclusively Catholic, the crown's takeover of Sedan was complicated by the fact that the religious loyalties of the population were mixed. This duality of affiliation made religious difference a key concern for the French Catholic crown in the establishment of its rule in the region, because the strategy that it pursued to this end needed to take account of local religious identities. For Protestants in the region, their political loyalty to the La Tour princes had rested partially on a shared religious heritage, since the La Tour rulers had until 1636 shared their creed and had acted as the protectors of the faith in their territory. In effect, they had been the arbitrators of formal expressions of identity through their establishment of independent ecclesiastical systems for both denominations. From the 1560s, these were administered by a Board of Ecclesiastical Finance, which oversaw the management of all church property, payment of tithes, clerical salaries, religious worship, education and so on. While the practice of the Catholic religion was not outlawed in Sedan, the prince heavily favoured the Protestant church, which gained the lion share of funding that ensured that Sedan developed a reputation as a protestant stronghold. Shrunken in clerical numbers, funding and infrastructure, the Catholic church's position improved slightly in 1636 when the young Fréderic-Maurice, under the influence of his new wife, Eleonore de Bergh, converted to Catholicism. But, in an attempt to allay the fears of the Protestant majority, he did not alter in any way the primacy of the Protestant church, though he did permit a small number of Capuchins to minister in the area in 1639.[5]

All of this was rendered obsolete by the removal of Fréderic-Maurice from power, however, for the status of both denominations had been entirely dependent on his will and authority. Indeed, the Catholic religion within this border region had been completely outside the framework of normal ecclesiastical hierarchies of jurisdiction in the church; unlike areas of Huguenot settlement elsewhere, it was not incorporated into a diocese and subject to the rule of a bishop, but depended on secular dynastic support that was so

4 Archives Nationales de France (AN), K117 (February 1644).

5 Pierre Congar, Le Calvinisme à Sedan, *Méhul*, Avril–Juin, 1963, 9–12; Abbé Pregnon, *Histoire du pays et de la ville de Sedan depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, 3 vols, Charleville, 1856, i, 305.

minimal that the church barely existed institutionally. On Fréderic-Maurice's departure, even this disappeared. Yet the reality of religious division and the existence of a faith that differed from that of the French monarch remained. Since 1598, the crown had dealt with this type of confessional bifurcation by implementing the terms of the Edict of Nantes, which had marked the conclusion of the religious wars with formal rights of worship to members of the reformed faith.[6] It had continued this policy even after the successful siege of La Rochelle and the subsequent Peace of Alais had confirmed the destruction of Huguenot strongholds in the south and west of France in 1629. However, it had proceeded aggressively in its drive to reinforce crown and Catholic hegemony in the *centre-ouest*, in a bid to ensure that the area, hitherto dominated by Huguenot nobles, remained quiescent and obedient. It opened it to widespread and aggressively pursued Catholic missions, notably those undertaken by the Capuchins under Richelieu's confidant, Père Joseph, and reconfigured the boundaries of Catholic dioceses to form the large new diocese of La Rochelle.[7] The explicit aim of the missions was conversion of Huguenots, who were subjected to severe pressure to abandon their faith in order to eradicate the duality of religious identity in the region.[8]

The crown's insistence that Sedan was a reunited territory of the realm suggested that it could be treated in precisely the same manner as La Rochelle and other Huguenot territories in France. In Sedan, however, the crown had to tread carefully, for the practice of Protestantism was associated closely with loyalty to the departed La Tour dynasty and could quickly be turned into a form of religious dissidence against the government of the French king. This was particularly likely should the crown's policy towards the Catholic minority infringe on traditional Protestant privileges bestowed by the La Tour rulers, and

6 The Edict of Nantes is printed in Roland Mousnier, *The Assassination of Henri IV*, London, 1973, trans. Joan Spencer, 316–63.

7 Joseph Bergin, *The Making of the French Episcopate, 1589–1661*, New Haven and Yale, 1996, 33–4, 570; Benoist Pierre, *Le Père Joseph. L'Éminence grise de Richelieu*, Paris, 2007, *passim*.

8 Robert Favreau et al., *Le Diocèse de Poitiers*, Paris, 1988, 136–55; Marcelle Forman, Henri Louis Chasteigner de la Rocheposay, Evêque de Poitiers, 1612–1651, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Oeust et des Musées de Poitiers*, iii, 1955, 165–231; Daniel Hickey, Le Rôle de l'état dans la réforme catholique: une inspection du diocese de Poitiers lors des Grands Jours de 1634, *Revue Historique*, 624, 2002, 939–61; Keith Luria, *Sacred Boundaries. Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early-Modern France*, Washington DC, 2005, 64–73; Louis Perouas, La 'Mission de Poitou' des Capucins pendant le premier quart du xvii^{e} siècle, *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Oeust et des Musées de Poitiers*, vii, 1964, 349–62.

meant that the treatment of Sedan as a possession rightfully reunited with the crown domain needed in fact to take account of the sovereign prerogatives long claimed by the region's rulers. As a result, while crown policy was built on the assumption that Sedan was not a formerly sovereign territory, in practice, in enacting a religious policy it had to treat it as though it had been.

A further reason that encouraged the crown to step cautiously in taking over Sedan was the awkward fact that neither the principles nor the process of its occupation were universally agreed. Through the 1640s and 1650s, Fréderic-Maurice and his wife continued to assert their opposition to the French crown's 'domination' of Sedan through 'deprivation' of its rightful sovereigns, in the hope either of regaining their territory or receiving adequate compensation for its unlawful seizure.[9] In their battle with the Bourbon government, it was conceivable that the publicity of their cause would preserve and indeed strengthen local loyalty to their rule, thus undermining the French monarchy's claim that it had legitimately reintegrated Sedan to its domain and weakening its ability to assert its rule there. Finally, dissatisfied with the progress of his cause, Bouillon joined other nobles in the *Fronde* in 1649, further threatening the solidity of the crown's position on the frontier. In desperation, Mazarin first toyed briefly with returning Sedan to his rule in exchange for his loyalty, before finally overturning a decade of French policy by agreeing to a treaty of exchange which recognised the formerly sovereign status of Sedan in 1651. After the Paris *parlement* paralysed the enactment of the treaty terms because it objected to this change, the crown issued *lettres de jussion* in 1657 which expressly confirmed that Sedan was a formerly independent sovereignty and granted restitution to its erstwhile ruling family in the form of the duchies of Albret and Château-Thierry.[10]

Sanctioning the status of Sedan as a territory of reunion, Louis XIII appointed the marquis of Fabert as governor of the region on 29 September 1642, with responsibility to oversee the reabsorption of Sedan into France, and to re-establish it as a frontier of the French realm. Fabert travelled to Sedan to oversee the crown's political and military interests shortly afterwards, remaining there until his death in 1662.[11] Very quickly, it became obvious that the crown intended that its objectives in religion should contribute to its meeting of its political ambitions.

9 *Manifeste de Monsieur le duc de Bouillon à la reyne régente*, 1643, 10.
10 Hodson, Sovereigns and Subjects, 379–81.
11 Pregnon, *Histoire*, i, 362–4. See also the standard biography of Fabert: Jules Bourelly, *Le Maréchal de Fabert (1599–1662): étude historique d'après ses lettres et des pièces inédites*, Paris, 1881.

In February 1643, Fabert risked alienating the Protestant majority when he re-established 'the entire liberty and exercise of the catholic religion'. But in an effort to discourage civil unrest and to provide a smooth transition from La Tour rule, he forbade debate of religious topics in public and threatened severe penalties on those who instigated confrontations between the two denominations, particularly during rituals that had historically here and in other areas been used to score sectarian points, such as 'the transport of the Sacrament to the sick … processions, baptisms, [and] burials'. To appease Catholics, he forbade shops to open on feast days, effectively closing Sedan down to anything but religious devotions on these occasions of Catholic celebration, but also ridding it of another issue that was often a source of contention in areas shared by the two faiths.[12]

These measures marked the beginning of the crown's attempt to assert its dominance by controlling religious affairs in the region and indicated that it wished to proceed by avoiding confrontation in order to achieve a smooth process of reintegration. Until his death in 1662, Fabert therefore continued to follow a strategy of conciliation and appeasement, based on the crown's recognition of existing religious divisions in the region. In June 1644, the Edict of Ruel affirmed that the Protestant inhabitants could retain their temple in Sedan and provided them with two additional temples in Francheval and Givonne so that they would no longer have to share them, turn upon turn, with Catholics. It also made provision for separate graveyards to be allotted to the community in the hope that this would reduce the potentiality for disputes over burial rites and space.[13]

Essential to the process of providing for Catholicism in Sedan was the provision of sufficient clergy to minister to the faithful there. While the Protestant

12 Archives de la Congrégation de la Mission, Paris (ACMP) Fonds Contassot, 'Sedan II'. The Edict of Nantes provided for the separation of burial grounds for the two denominations, but this did not resolve the issue, and interpretation of its terms regularly provoked disputes between the denominations over possession and partition of cemeteries: Luria, *Sacred Boundaries*, 29, 131–2. For other instances of dispute over similar issues, see Christopher Elwood, *The Body Broken: Calvinist Doctrine of the Eucharist and the Symbolisation of Power in Sixteenth-Century France*, Oxford, 1999, *passim*; Amanda Eurich, Sacralising space: reclaiming civic culture in early modern France, in: Will Coster/Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2005, 259–81; Bridget Heal, Sacred image and sacred space in Lutheran Germany, in: ibid., 39–59; Penny Roberts, Contesting sacred space: burial disputes in sixteenth-century France', in: Bruce Gordon/Peter Marshall (eds.), *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, 2000, 131–48.

13 ACMP, Fonds Contassot 'Sedan II'.

congregation was left to provide its own clergy, the crown incorporated the Catholics of the region into the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Reims, and therefore into the French church. Historically, Sedan actually lay in three dioceses, of which only one was French.[14] Its wholesale incorporation into Reims was therefore a political statement in itself, for the placing of a region which had been excluded from episcopal governance for generations under French episcopal supervision provided an opportunity for the French crown to co-operate with the French church in establishing structures and practices that would distinguish a resurgent Catholic community.

In this region too, however, the choices that the crown made reflected its interest in avoiding confrontation and further destabilizing this vulnerable area. With scarcely any Catholic clergy active in Sedan, it was imperative to ensure that an adequate pastoral ministry was provided by clergy dedicated to the promotion of Catholicism in the region. Yet rather than patronizing the Capuchins who had a well-earned reputation as missionaries in contested localities, the crown decided to establish the Congregation of the Mission, a small society of secular priests under the leadership of Vincent de Paul since its foundation in 1625. One of a number of sacerdotal associations founded during the Catholic Reformation in France, its confrères specialised in performing peripatetic missions for Catholics in rural areas of the realm. Sedan offered an unusual environment for this youthful congregation; its members were far less accustomed than either the Capuchins or the Jesuits to the work of religious controversy and conversion, and did not share the polemical skills these had honed in confronting Protestant ministers and doctrines in their preaching and public rituals of piety such as the eucharistic forty hours devotion.[15] They were also far less numerous. Yet it is clear that those who originated their call to the region considered that they were particularly well fitted to the political and religious landscape there.

According to de Paul, Louis XIII recognised that the Congregation's ethos and methods dovetailed neatly with the policy of conciliation that he wished to implement in Sedan. As de Paul reminded the superior of the new house, Guillaume Gallais, on his arrival in Sedan in early May 1643, 'when the King

14 The other dioceses were Treves and Liège: Jacques Rousseau, Les Sources de l'histoire de Sedan, *Annales Sedanaises d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, 45, 1961, 3–8.

15 Keith Luria, Rituals of conversion: Catholics and Protestants in seventeenth-century Poitou, in: Barbara Diefendorf/Carla Hesse (eds.), *Culture and Identity in Early Modern Europe*, Ann Arbor, 1993, 65–81.

sent you to Sedan, it was on condition never to dispute against heretics, neither in the pulpit nor in private, knowing that this is of little use and very often one produces more noise than fruit'.[16] The king made his request of de Paul on his deathbed in May, but the policy that inspired it was subsequently carried through by the regency government of Anne of Austria, whose strategy was one of moderation and appeasement, tempered with a firm show of authority. It was designed, as the queen mother emphasised to Fabert, to entice the Sedanese 'to love the domination of the king' and the Congregation was to act as a stabilizing force in this seduction.[17] It was imperative, the chief minister Mazarin agreed, that the crown demonstrate through this approach that it had the best interests of the Sedanese at heart, that is, that its 'particular care of their interests' rested on a desire to 'protect them' in all encounters. While the king's paternal authority was absolute over this restored 'son', it would be expressed in as benign a manner as possible.[18]

The terms agreed for the Congregation's presence in Sedan ensured that the confrères who worked there were representatives of both the church and the crown. The returns for their obedience were handsome. The basis of the deal was Louis XIII's bequeathal of 24,000 *livres* to the Congregation, which was to be used to establish a mission in Sedan 'to affirm the Catholics [and] to try to restore to the bosom of the Church the number of souls that heresy had turned away'. This was part of a much larger legacy, from which the remaining 40,000 *livres* was to be devoted to missionary work in other locations chosen by de Paul and the Jesuit royal confessor and French provincial, Jacques Dinet. A further contract on 14 June 1644 enabled Anne of Austria to improve the terms under which the Congregation would operate there: the entire sum of 64,000 was to be invested and the revenue placed at de Paul's disposal for use in Sedan.[19]

16 Jacqueline Kilar et al. (eds.), *Vincent de Paul: Correspondence, Documents, Conferences*, 14 vols, New York, 1985–present, ii, de Paul to Guillaume Gallais (superior in Sedan), *c*.1643.

17 Bibliotheque Arsenal, Paris, Ms 5416, fos 2016r–7r, Anne of Austria to Abraham de Fabert, 24 July 1643: 'aymer la domination du Roy'.

18 Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris, Ms 2214, unpaginated, Jules Mazarin to Abram Fabert, 26 May 1644: 'un soin particulier de leurs interest et de les proteger'.

19 The money paid for the construction of thirteen houses at the *clos Saint-Laurent*, just north of the Congregation's motherhouse in Paris (Saint-Lazare); these raised rent of 1300*l* per year, to which de Paul added an additional 900*l* to maintain the house in Sedan annually. The contracts stipulated that six priests and two brothers were to reside in the community, but its numbers fluctuated regularly. In total, forty priests and clerics as well as four brothers resided in Sedan between 1643 and 1660, but the house maintained the eight clerics that its contract stipulated for parochial duties and missions in only

Arrangements for the Congregation's arrival in Sedan formed part of a larger process in which the archbishop of Reims formalised the presence of the Catholic Church, on the personal request of the queen mother. Etampes evidently gave great satisfaction in this task, for he was congratulated by Mazarin for his 'capacity and zeal' and for his ability to satisfy even the members of the reformed religion, while carrying out this sensitive but 'so holy and so necessary work'.[20] It included assigning the cure of Sedan to the Congregation, so that its members were parish priests in the area as well as missionaries to it, dual functions which granted them extensive control over pastoral practices. The archbishop also had to find 2500*l* in additional income for their new house, which he diverted from taxes (*dimes*), tithes and *rentes* levied in Sedan. These practical issues were settled in October 1644, shortly after Etampes had undertaken a visit to Sedan to examine his new territory.[21] In the ceremonies that he carried out in August, he relied heavily on the newly established community of Congregation priests to assert the confident Catholic and Bourbon occupation of Sedan. These began with a triumphant fusion of French and Catholic loyalties in public rituals that honoured Louis XIII's consecration of the realm to the Virgin Mary in 1638 and marked Sedan's inclusion under her blessed patronage. The Congregation superior welcomed the archbishop to Sedan with a short harangue at the doors of Saint Laurent parish church, while all five Congregation priests took prominent positions amongst those who sang the *te deum* at the pontifical mass that the archbishop then celebrated in the church, and at which he distributed communion to 800 parishioners. In turn, to support their ministry in the parish, the archbishop approved the payment of 10,000*l* for essential renovations to the dilapidated church fabric, which bore the scars of years of neglect, and for the purchase of ecclesiastical ornaments.[22]

seven years, and in only four years did the number of its residents exceed this minimal requirement. Priests spent an average of three years in Sedan, while brothers spent an average of ten years: Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BN), NAF, 22326, fo 56v; AN, S6597 (22 August 1645); Kilar et al. (eds.), *Correspondence*, vols. 13a, 337–8. For the episcopal decree confirming possession of the cure, see AN, S6710 (October 1643).

20 Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 2214, unpaginated, Jules Mazarin to Léonor d'Etampes de Valençay, 10 September: 'votre capacité et du zele … une œuvre si saincte et si necessaire'.

21 BN, NAF 22326, fos 56r–7v.

22 BN, Champagne 36, 121r–23v; Guillaume Marlot, *Histoire de la ville, cite et université de Reims*, 4 vols, Reims, 1846, iv, 571–2.

Three months before, the same priests had also assumed a leading role in the ceremonies in which Sedanese residents took an oath of fidelity to their new ruler, at three locations marking the key bases of Catholic and royal power, the parish church, town hall and governor's château. Indeed, the Congregation residents were the first to take the vow on 28 April and set an example for the other clergy, parishioners and Protestants who gathered in the town by demonstrating their loyalty and service to church and crown. On the day of the ceremony, Fabert, accompanied by officers of his garrison, first processed to the parish church from his château, where he 'found the Reverend Fathers of the Mission ... all dressed in their surplices and stoles, also with the cross and alb. We read our commission in the presence of these and of a great number of people, who were assembled there ... each of them individually having their hand at their breast, made the vow of fidelity ... And from this Holy church after having heard the holy Mass which was celebrated by the said G. Gallais parish priest ... we [were] transported to the town hall'.[23] There, Fabert and his officers took the oath, followed by urban notables who included local Protestant ministers and faculty of the Protestant academy, and other inhabitants. This vow specifically obliged its takers to comport themselves as 'good and loyal subjects' of the French monarch, while forbidding them to communicate with anyone else (obviously Fréderic-Maurice or his heirs) who held pretensions to rule in Sedan.[24]

Promotion of loyalty to the new regime through public rituals was an integral element of the Congregation's responsibilities in Sedan, but its members were, of course, also designated as parish clergy and missionaries to regenerate the Catholic faith through the renewal of devotions. Service to the Catholic residents began immediately on arrival, with the missionaries simply adopting their usual practice of completing a mission as soon as they settled in the town, before settling into a routine of ministry in the parish and occasional missions in the surrounding area.[25] Taking stock, Gallais reported to de Paul on the state

23 BN, NAF 9787, fo 125r–26r: 'en la grand eglise parroissiale de lad. Ville a l'entrée de la quelle nous aurions trouvé les Reverendes Peres de la mission ... tout revetus de leurs surplis et des etolles aussi la croix et aubevite, en presence des quelles et de grand nombre de people, qui estoit lassemblé, chacun d'eux en particuliers ayant la main a la poitrine, fait le serment de fidelité ... Et de la S. eglise après avoir ouy la ste. Messe qui a esté celebrée par led. G. Gallais curé ... Nous serions acheminez, en l'hôtel delad. Ville'.

24 On 5 May, residents of hamlets outside the town took the vow: BN, NAF 9787, fos 131r–2r.

25 The priests established a confraternity of charity for the sick poor, normally a characteristic feature of the Congregation's missions, but here adapted to parochial ministry. The

of Catholic piety, stating that 'we have to work with them as we would with completely new people'. His explanation for why this was so drew a distinction between the strategies that different missionary groups customarily employed in their pastoral care. Gallais opined that far too much time had been spent on polemical preaching in the immediate past, and although he did not expressly point an accusing finger at the Capuchins, he may well have had them in mind. According to him, the people were quite ignorant as a result: 'several admitted openly that they had not believed it necessary to confess all their sins. The same abuses were being committed with regard to Holy Communion, etc.'. Thus, his priests had received a favourable response when they began to instruct the people in the fundamentals of devotion, for 'they would listen with pleasure to what was said to them and put it into practice faithfully'.[26]

A leading Protestant who witnessed the missionaries' tactics was nonplussed by them, for they did not follow the conventions of controversial discourse to which he was more accustomed in France. The famed pastor, preacher and controversialist Charles Drelincourt was a native of Sedan and a graduate of its academy. Although based in Charenton, he was a regular visitor to the area and maintained contact with kin and friends there. He was consequently well placed to comment on the new missionaries. In his 1648 *Dialogues familiers sur les principales objections des Missionaires de ce temps*, he took them to task, sarcastically calling them tiresome 'flies, who always return although one hunts them and never cease to bother you'. They returned again and again, he claimed, to points that had already been refuted by generations of protestant theologians, singing 'the same song' and flying 'the same circle'. But they shied clear of direct altercations and preferred simply to teach key doctrines repetitively to their audiences in catechetical sessions and to concentrate on other points and practices that he considered inconsequential for spiritual health. For Drelincourt, their

confraternity was established soon after the first missionaries arrived, and became the recipient of testamentary bequests from pious parishioners; for instance in 1647, the widower Gilles Vassone bequeathed 200 livres to the confraternity. Later wills indicate that this confraternity continued to operate through the century: AD Ardennes, G246 and Mi 634.

26 Kilar et al. (eds.), *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 441, Guillaume Gallais to de Paul, 1643. This suggests that there may have been some local rivalry between the Congregation and the Capuchins, as occurred in other territories where differences in regard to pastoral approaches and access to resources ensured competition between secular and regular clergy or between different religious orders. For an introduction to this topic, see my *Fathers, Pastors, Kings: Visions of Episcopacy in Seventeenth-Century France*, chs 3–4.

avoidance of the customary format for disputations between the denominations offered proof that their claims were not founded on scripture but was a strategy that they had devised to deflect attention from this fundamental weakness of their faith.[27]

Despite Drelincourt's distaste for the Congregation's approach, this was why the crown had chosen it for Sedan; and it was standard practice for its missionaries wherever they went. It also marked them out as representatives of a distinctive strand of missionary action in the Catholic Reformation, even though this is usually overshadowed by the Baroque Jesuit style in scholarship. De Paul did not allow his men to challenge Protestants directly anywhere, and indeed initially he appeared to assume that the reasons for the Congregation's presence in Sedan did not include the conversion of Protestants.[28] More routinely, however, he referred to a Protestant audience of inhabitants and was concerned to ensure that he advised his missionaries on how best to win over heretical listeners. Yet he was adamant that this could not be achieved by fanning unrest that would raise antagonism towards the missionaries – who were the most obvious manifestation of the restoration of the Catholic Church – and towards the crown which was sponsoring this. He argued, if conversions came, they were welcome, but they were primarily to be an indirect consequence, not to be directly pursued, of the missionary and parochial ministry that the Congregation delivered in Sedan. This, he reminded the Sedanese missionaries, 'is how the angels act with us; they inspire us to do good but do not pressure us to do it … experience has shown me that we have greater influence over others by proceeding in this way than by urging them to adhere to our views and trying to get the better of them'.[29]

Catechesis, which he understood as a form of preaching, was instrumental in de Paul's understanding of Christian formation. This led him to prior-

27 Drelincourt declared that he was not worried by the challenge that the Congregation presented to Protestant loyalties, because those of the true faith recognised their deception. However, he also declared that he wrote the *Dialogues* to provide ordinary Protestants with refutations of the missionaries' lies. Its fourth part consisted of a long defence of Calvinist sacramental doctrine, the sacraments being a staple and central element of the Congregation's didactic repertoire during missions: *Dialogues familiers sur les principales objections des missionaires de ce temps par Charles Drelincourt*, Paris, 1648, preface (unpaginated): 'Car ces nouveaux disputeurs ressemblent aux mouches, qui reviennent toujours quoiqu'on les chasse et ne cessent jamais de vous importuner'.

28 Kilar et al. (eds.), *Correspondence*, Vol. 2, 495, de Paul to Guillaume Gallais, 13 February 1644.

29 Ibid., Vol. 8, 224–5, de Paul to Pierre Cabel, 17 December 1659.

itizecatechetical instruction to an extent unusual among missionary groups at this time. This was partly because the Congregation's missions were longer (ten days). However, it also held true in proportional terms, for they devoted at least two hours to it each day.[30] In Sedan, as a result, the low-key approach to conversion was not simply a manifestation of realpolitik. Generally, both in sermons and catechetical sessions, de Paul advocated a straightforward and gentle style, and his confrères did not use theatrical techniques such as the ceremonial planting of crosses, public acts of penance like the trailing of the tongue along the ground of village squares, or dramatic enactments such as conversations with the dead using props that included skulls and fires – all woven as standard into the Jesuit and Capuchin missions.[31] De Paul did not believe such external rituals to be efficacious either in effecting or demonstrating true conversion, although their proponents considered that they facilitated the interiorization of the missionary message of contrition and offered proof that it had been successfully transmitted to the penitents.[32] Instead, he advocated a pedagogical approach that was rich in illustrative examples, but simple in language, and sequentially structured according to the motives for adopting a virtue, the means to do so, and the benefits accruing to those who

30 Ibid., Vol. 1, 178, Vincent de Paul to Antoine Portail, 28 November 1632; ibid., 554, Vincent de Paul to Jeanne de Chantal, 14 July 1639; Louis Abelly, *La Vie du venerable servant de Dieu Vincent de Paul*, Paris, 1664, ii, 11–7; G. Chalumeau, Saint Vincent de Paul et les Missions en France au xvii^{e} siècle, *XVII^{e} Siècle*, 41, 1958, 317–27; Luigi Mezzadri/José María Román, *The Vincentians : A General History of the Congregation of the Mission*, trans. Robert Cummings, New York, 2009, 150–60.

31 Bernard Dompnier, La Compagnie de Jésus et la mission de l'intérieur, in: Luce Giald/Louis de Vaucelles (eds), *Les Jésuites et l'Âge Baroque*, Grenoble, 1996, 155–79. Bernard Peyrous suggests that over the eighteenth century other missionaries adopted the Vincentian format, but the evidence of David Gentilcore and others confirms that this claim is too sweeping. Even Alphonse de Liguori's Redemptorists combined elements of the Jesuit and Vincentian approaches, while the Congregation of the Mission incorporated dramas such as the planting of the cross into their missions in the decades that followed de Paul's death: David Gentilcore, 'Adapt yourselves to the people's capabilities': missionary strategies, methods and impact in the Kingdom of Naples, 1600–1800', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45, 2, 1994, 269–96; Mezzadri and Román, *The Vincentians*, 146–78; Bernard Peyrous, Saint Vincent de Paul et le renouvellement des missions paroissiales, *Bulletin de la Société de Borda*, 385, 1982, 568–84.

32 In the Jesuit 'schools of mortification' described by Jennifer Selwyn, penitential processions formed the centrepiece of a dramatic set of public corporal mortificatory acts, such as a bonfire of the vanities, the wearing of crowns of thorns and flagellation: Jennifer Selwyn, 'Schools of mortification': theatricality and the role of penitential practice in the Jesuits' popular missions', in: Katherine Jackson Lualdi/Anne T. Thayer (eds.), *Penitence in the Age of Reformations*, Aldershot, 2000, 201–21; *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples*, Aldershot, 2004, 211–42.

did. He understood this to express the Congregation's ethos, or 'spirit', which he had devised in order to develop a distinct identity for the group and to foster a unity of purpose amongst its members. The basis of the Congregation's ethos was a framework of Christ-like virtues, or values, which, while recognisably drawn from traditional Catholic theological teaching, were shaped to respond to the demands of evangelization in the Tridentine period. For de Paul, the confrères' possession of these defining marks of identity, or 'faculties of the soul of the Congregation', demonstrated that they were instruments of God as they performed their vocational tasks.[33] These signature virtues of their authentic ministry were humility, simplicity, zeal, gentleness and mortification, which were topped by the supreme virtue of charity, which the angelic doctor Thomas Aquinas had called the 'most excellent' of the three theological virtues. Charity embraced and enlivened other virtues because it actively demonstrated love of God and neighbour. For the Congregation, it was also the second 'great virtue' of Jesus Christ, the companion to his adoration of the Father, so that those who possessed it were clothed in his spirit, but empty of self.[34] Citing Aquinas's precept that perfection consisted in loving God and neighbour, de Paul concluded that 'we should show [love] by bringing people to love God and the neighbour, to love the neighbour for God and God for the neighbour. We have been chosen by God as instruments of his immense, paternal charity'.[35] Indeed, he went so far as to say that the Congregation was 'a state of charity', that is, a state of love for God, expressed in missionary service.[36]

Trained in scholastic theology, de Paul knew that the doctrine of charity had a distinguished pedigree in Catholic tradition, most recently in the teaching propounded by the late celebrated Bishop François de Sales. Like many devout Catholics of the early seventeenth century, de Paul was enamoured with the teachings that de Sales had enunciated in the *Introduction à la vie devote*, while he revealed in 1628 that de Sales's second 'noble work', the *Traité sur l'amour de Dieu*, first published in 1616, was required reading for members of his community as a 'universal remedy for all who are dispirited ... an incentive to love, and

33 Kilar et al. (eds.), *Correspondence*, Vol. 13a, 438, 'Common Rules', 17 May 1658.
34 Ibid., Vol. 6, 413, Vincent de Paul to a Congregation priest, undated; ibid., 11, p. 311, 'Advice to Antoine Durand', 1656.
35 Ibid., Vol. 12, 70, 'Purpose of the Congregation of the Mission', 6 December 1658; ibid., p. 214, 'Charity', 30 May 1659.
36 Ibid., Vol. 11, pp. 34–6.

a ladder for those striving for perfection'.[37] De Sales's emphasis on the practice of charity as a form of spiritualised effectivity offered the basis for de Paul's assumption that his missionaries should burn with charity as they ascended 'by steps' through the five missionary virtues.[38] Furthermore, it led him to agree with de Sales that the natural tendency of men was to turn towards and 'fasten onto' a loving God, so that de Paul optimistically anticipated that those who voluntarily chose to respond to God's invitation to obey him would be met with his merciful charity: 'God desires that everyone might be saved, and gives everyone the means for that; but, if they do not observe them, it is not God's fault, but theirs'.[39]

As collective marks of identity, the missionary virtues determined the Congregation's approach to public ministry. De Paul realised that they could act as tools to win the goodwill of those who encountered his missionaries in parishes, and subsequently to encourage them to exercise their free will in God's favour. As he reminded a superior in Sedan, the people's obedience to God would be nurtured, not through the use of didactic artifices that manipulated people into submission, but through 'simplicity, uprightness, and firmness of mind', and through 'requests rather than any language that might smack of authority or demands'.[40] Their behaviour therefore should earn the admiration of locals, and would inspire them to adopt their faith and habits: 'good living and the good odour of the Christian virtues put into practice draw the black sheep back to the right path and confirm Catholics on it'. Exemplary living would give the missionaries the high moral ground that would entitle them to 'preach against vice and bad morals, [establish and encourage] the virtues, showing their necessity, their beauty, their practice and the means of acquiring them'.[41] Furthermore, when their virtues were actualised in the formal pedagogical contexts of sermons and catechesis, they would arouse a response amongst listeners, both to them and to God, so that ultimately the

37 Ibid., Vol. 13a, p. 84, 'Deposition at the Process of Beatification of François de Sales', 17 April 1628. The *Introduction* was first published in 1609.

38 François de Sales, *Treatise on the Love of* God, London, 1884, trans. Henry Benedict Mackey, 145–8, 193–5, 203–14, 253; E.J. Lajeunie, *Saint François de Sales. L'homme, la pensée, l'action*, 2 vols, Paris, 1966, ii, 232–5, 286–318.

39 ACMP, MS. 'De la grâce', fo 3v: 'Dieu desire que tout le monde soit sauvé, et donne des moyens à tous pour cela; mais, s'ils ne les observant, ce n'est pas la faute de Dieu, mais la leur'.

40 Kilar et al. (eds.), *Correspondence*, Vol. 6, 623, de Paul to Pierre Cabel, 17 November 1657.

41 Ibid., Vol. 1, 275– 9, de Paul to Antoine Portail, 1 May 1635; ibid., Vol. 11, 55, 'Gentleness in Controversies', undated.

evangeliser and evangelised would unite in a tripartite bond of charity with God. Listeners were to be touched by their teacher to the point where they were ready to personalizethe virtues in making their submission to the divine will, thus emulating the charitable love that he proffered. De Paul believed that the main 'fruit of the mission' stemmed from the sustained inculcation of doctrine in the minds of the faithful, for knowledge of God's glory and the requirements of faith laid the basis for their commitment to piety.[42] Indeed, it was in response to the lessons that they learned about sin, mercy and reconciliation that the layperson made the choice to obey God's will. But if neither de Paul nor his missionaries displayed true humility, simplicity and so on, then their words would lack their companion virtues, which placed their listeners in a state of readiness to turn freely to God.

It was, therefore, on the terrain of moral instruction that de Paul thought the missionaries would win the battle for hearts as well as minds, and it was in stoking up admiration for their ethical values and ability to live out the graceful virtues that they would win over Protestants and Catholics who were ignorant or lax in their practices. There was, he argued, nothing to be gained from tackling Protestants directly on doctrine, for François de Sales and he himself had seen that disputes only closed minds, hardened hearts and displayed a vanity in the protagonists that caused their audience to doubt their integrity:

> If you have the desire to speak about some points of controversy, do not do it unless the Gospel of the day should lead you to it. And then you will be able to sustain and prove the truths which the heretics attack, and even respond to their arguments but without naming them or talking about them.[43]

Of course, this was precisely what infuriated Charles Drelincourt, who was confident that their Protestant opponents could defeat the Catholic missionaries in the area of doctrine. But this was a debate in which the Congregation was not prepared to engage in Sedan, partly because the crown did not wish it to do so, but also because its missionaries were schooled to cross the boundary between the faiths through the language, concepts and conduct of virtue. Although foreign to Protestant patterns of communication with Catholics, this fitted neatly into the circumstances of Sedan's occupation. Because there were fewer grounds for disagreement between the faiths on the actual practice of basic moral principles and rules, many of which they held in common, these were therefore a far less fruitful area for attack and therefore less likely to evoke

42 Ibid., Vol. 1, 419, de Paul to Lambert aux Couteaux, 30 January 1638.
43 Ibid., Vol. 2, 442, de Paul to Guillaume Gallais, *c.*1643.

open antagonism. Indeed, the missionaries were told to expect that they would provoke admiration and emulation, which would translate into conversion and committed pious behaviour. While the extent to which the approach worked on the general population in the long term is beyond the scope of this chapter, this explains why the crown deliberately forged an alliance with the Congregation in Sedan during its transition from La Tour to Bourbon possession. Although the monarchy insisted that the political border between the region and the rest of France had been artificial and temporary, and was therefore easily dismantled, it could not discount the denominational frontier within Sedan itself, for it was both politically and religiously real and potentially the source of protest against the new regime. The crown's choice of de Paul's Congregation to act as the agent for French and Catholic influence testified to the particularity of Sedan, a territory in which religious strategy had to pay heed to the legacy of historical independence, rather than to the theoretical and officially perpetuated argument of reunion.

Raingard Esser

A 'Lost Quarter' or the 'Four Seasons' of Guelders

Narratives of Belonging in the Eighty Years War

On 6 November 1615 the magistrates of Roermond, a city in the Spanish Netherlands, wrote a letter to their colleagues in neighbouring Arnhem, Zutphen and Nijmegen across the border in the northern part of the duchy of Guelders then under the States General. In this letter the Roermond councillors invoked the '*goede frunttschap en naaburschap*' with the cities in the North, who, only a few years ago, had sent troops to besiege Roermond and would be fighting against the Spanish Netherlands again after the end of the Twelve Years Truce in 1621.[1] It is interesting that the Roermond magistrates sought to invoke this rhetoric of neighbourliness in times of political turmoil: but was this approach typical for communications between the once united, but now divided, cities? And how did their citizens cope with this long and complicated history of war and partition?

This chapter looks at a particular area of today's Dutch province of Limburg: the northern part, with the city of Roermond at its political, economic and religious centre. The history of the southern part of today's province, with Maastricht as its urban heart, took a different turn in the Middle Ages and early modern period which was determined by the politics of the prince-bishopric of Liège and the lands of Overmaas, Valkenburg, Herzogenrath and Dalhem to which territories it belonged. Roermond, however, and the surrounding area – with the municipality of Geldern (with the town of Geldern at its centre) in the north-east, stretching south to the municipalities of Nieuwstadt in the west and Erkelenz in the east, and incorporating a number of *heerlijkheden* (seigneuries) scattered across the west and the north of the territory – had a distinct early modern history as Spanish Guelders or the *Overkwartier van Gelre*.

The chequered history of this border region is characterized by substantial political changes and some redrawing of its many border lines, not only during the early modern period, but also in modern times. These changes, which will be briefly outlined below for the turbulent sixteenth and seventeenth cen-

1 Inventaris van het Oud Archief der Gemeente Roermond, 3e stuk, Roermond , p. 99. I would like to thank Dr Gerhard Venner for his very helpful comments on this chapter.

turies, had to be intellectually and culturally absorbed in historiography and commemorative practices, but also in local and individual tales reflecting the enduring or changing loyalties to concepts of belonging and identity. These loyalties might have been harnessed to a religious confession, ethnic or linguistic markers, political ideologies, local tradition or family bonds. Identity, of course, is a difficult concept, particularly if it is applied to a geographical entity and for a period before the nation state. Much has been written in recent decades about national or regional identity, which does not need to be repeated here.[2] The following discussion will take Willem Frijhoff's concept of identity as a starting point and will apply the categories that he has proposed to an analysis of Upper Guelders. According to Frijhoff identity includes three elements: praxis, imagination and identification.[3] These three elements are relevant for the identity formation of both individuals and groups. Frijhoff stresses the dynamic character of identity and the relationship between its three variables. While praxis can be detected through the actors' actions, their politics, negotiations and strategies (fed by belief, alliances, traditions, etc.), imagination is both built upon and expressed through memory and commemorative practices, and historiography. It is an active process which manifests as well as creates identity. An imagined community is only successfully constructed if narratives of belonging are (at least partly) accepted by their recipients. Rituals and commemorations need actors as well as viewers and supporters. Identification embodies both self-image and acts.[4] In the brief space of this chapter, these three elements will be applied to the particular situation of the *Overkwartier* in the late sixteenth and seventeenth century. I will analyse a small sample of historiographical works written by members of the regional elite.[5] I will investigate practices of identity formation facilitated by regional agents such as the members of town and regional councils (including the knights and the *Hof* in Roermond) and the Catholic Church. These practices crossed the political borders produced by the fortunes

2 See, for instance, the essays collected in: Robert Stein/Judith Pollmann (eds.), *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries 1300–1650*, Leiden, 2010.

3 Willem Frijhoff, Toeëigening als vorm van kultureele dynamiek, *Volkskunde* 104,1, 2003, 3–17.

4 This concept has been successfully implemented by Aart Noordzij in his PhD dissertation on Gelderland in the Middle Ages. See his*: Dynastie, land en identiteit in de late middeleeuwen*, Hilversum, 2009.

5 This approach has to neglect sources which might give insights into the world of 'ordinary men and women' outside the official circles of power. A closer examination of other source material such as local diaries would undoubtedly shed further light on the question.

of war and negotiated by the political leaders in the Northern and Southern Netherlands (and with their eastern neighbours in the Holy Roman Empire). It is hoped that this analysis will provide an (albeit selective) insight both into early modern loyalties and alliances in a contested border region of the Low Countries and its changes over a turbulent time and also into the strategies that its inhabitants used to come to terms with a long-lasting crisis. The term 'region', as much discussed as the concept of identity, is used here to emphasize that the political geographical borders decided by politicians are insufficient markers of a sense of belonging, which, it will be argued, transgress the lines of demarcation drawn as a result of war and diplomacy.

Research on border identities and the role of border regions in the early modern Low Countries is a relatively new, but growing field of study. That men and women on the fringes of the Dutch Republic might have experienced quite differently the rise of the Netherlands to one of the most powerful and prosperous states in early modern Europe, and might have developed a canon of memorable events which differed from those in the maritime provinces, is now widely acknowledged.[6] Concepts of memory and identity in the Generality Lands, the border regions which came under direct rule of the States General after 1648 and did not receive the status of a province, have, so far, not been adequately researched. The people of the Upper Guelders, the region around the cities of Roermond and Venlo, certainly experienced and remembered the Eighty Years War and the following conflicts very differently from their western neighbours. It might have been easy for the men and women of Holland to refer to the heroic sieges of Leiden and Haarlem as key events in their struggle for independence. However, the experience and the memories of the war on the borders of the Netherlands – which suffered the brunt of the fighting in the protracted campaigns that collapsed into a series of sieges and counter-sieges with different warring parties marauding the country for much of the Eighty Years War – could not provide their inhabitants with a heroic master narrative of resistance or gallant surrender.[7] Moreover, since the status of States Brabant, States Flanders and Upper Guelders remained vague or changed over much of

6 See, for instance, Raingard Esser, *The Politics of Memory: The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-Century Low Countries*, Leiden, 2012. See also Benjamin J. Kaplan, Religious encounters in the borderlands of early modern Europe: the case of Vaals, *Dutch Crossing* 37, 1, 2013, 4–19.

7 See, for instance, Leo Adriaenssen, *Staatsvormend Geweld. Overleven aan de frontlinies in de meierej van Den Bosch, 1572–1629*, Tilburg, 2008; Peter de Cauwer, *Tranen van Bloed: Het beleg van 's Hertogenbosch en de oorlog in de Nederlanden 1629*, Amsterdam, 2008.

the period from the outbreak of hostilities in the sixteenth century to the end of the turbulent and bellicose seventeenth century, different memory and identity constructions were developed.

Upper Guelders had been one of the four quarters, the administrative units, of the Duchy of Guelders. During the Eighty Years War, the city of Roermond remained for most of the time on the side of the Spanish king. The surrounding area, including the neighbouring city of Venlo to the north of Roermond, frequently changed hands as a consequence of siege and surrender. Roermond itself had to open its gates to the Orangist army on 23 July 1572. The soldiers, however, left after a few months. In the winter of 1577/78 the city was again besieged, though it was able to withstand the Northern forces. In 1632 Roermond surrendered to the successful campaign of Prince Frederik Hendrik and remained under the States' regime until 1637. During the Twelve Years Truce, Upper Guelders was formally acknowledged as a part of the Spanish Netherlands. The Peace of Westphalia manifested the political realities of the Eighty Years War with the official recognition of the United Provinces as an independent state and the remainder of the Low Countries as the Spanish Netherlands. Both around 1609, in the negotiations and following implementations of the Twelve Years Truce, and in the run-up to the Peace of Westphalia, the political allocation of the territory was highly contested and definitions of what was within and what outside the respective sides remained somewhat vague. Initially the States General had hoped that the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella would enter into negotiations about a cession of this, significantly smaller, part of the duchy, claiming that they wished to preserve its territorial integrity, which dated back to the fifteenth century. (This integrity had also been confirmed and guaranteed by Charles V in the Treaty of Venlo of 1543, where he promised to recognize the traditional rights and customs of the duchy including the *privilegio de non evocando*.[8]) However, the archdukes refused to contemplate this move.[9] They regarded the *Overkwartier* as the legal successor of the duchy of Guelders and themselves as their legal lords. Accordingly, they would have preferred to refer to the northern states of Guelders, consisting of the three quarters of Arnhem, Nijmegen and Zutphen, as the Staten van Veluwe or the Staten van Zutphen, claiming the ducal title of Guelders

8 Willem van Loon, *Hendrik Cannegieter, Groot Gelders Placaet Boeck, Vol.1*, Nijmegen, 1701, 27–32.

9 Tomas Roggeman, *Nu zijn wij dan goede vrienden! Intergouvernementele betrekkingen tussen de Verenigde Provinciën en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijden het Twaalfjarig Bestand, 1609-1621*, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Gent, 2008, 105f.

for the Southern part. As the legal successors of the duchy, they also claimed the traditional custom revenues from the Guelders territory. Here, however, negotiations around the Truce concerned with matters of taxation, which took place in The Hague in June 1609, stalled. Tax transactions as desired by Brussels could not be forced. With the renewed outbreak of hostilities in 1621 the fate of Upper Guelders was again unclear. The start of the Thirty Years War a few years earlier had turned the area into a theatre of war not just in the conflict between the warring parties of the Low Countries, but also involving the archdukes' wider interest for the Austrian house of Habsburg and imperial matters. The new phase of the war turned Upper Guelders once again into a campaigning ground for warring armies. Equally vague and unsatisfactory concerning the fate of the territory were the peace negotiations in the second half of the 1640s. During the negotiations of 1646 and 1647, leading to the peace treaties of Münster and Osnabrück, the role of the *Overkwartier* and its future were the subject of frequent debates between the representatives of the States and the Spanish delegates. Not surprisingly, the States argued again for an incorporation of the area into the duchy (and the province) of Guelders and, therefore, to keep the traditional territorial boundaries intact.[10] As it turned out, article 52 of the peace treaty between the two factions, separately signed in Münster on 30 January 1648, left considerable room for interpretation when discussing the future of the area. Here it was stated that '*het Overkwartier van Gelderlandt sal worden ghewisselt jegens een equivalent*', thus again leaving contemporaries worried about the future course of events.[11] The War of the Spanish Succession led to further changes to the territorial integrity of this already rather patchy

10 See, for instance, Nationaal Archief, The Hague, 12588.38 Stukken betreffende de bemoeingen van de Staten-Generaal en van hun gevolmmachtigden bij de vredesonderhandelingen met de pogingen om het Overkwartier van Gelderland te voegen bjy het gewest Gelderland. For earlier discussions in the Netherlands about the inalienability of the territory of the Low Countries see, for instance, Discovrs aengaende Treves of Vrede met de Infante ofte Koning van Hispanien/ende dese Vereenighde Nederlanden (Haarlem, 1629). A good insight into the respective positions during the negotiations is provided by Laura Manzano Baena, Negotiating sovereignty: the peace treaty of Münster, 1648, *History of Political Thought* 28, 4, 2007, 617–41. See also her *Conflicting Words, The Peace Treaty of Münster (1648) and the Political Culture of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Monarchy*, Leuven, 2011.

11 'Het Over-kwartier van Gelderlandt zal worden ghewisselt jegens een equivalent. Ende ingevalle men zich onderlingh niet zouden kunnen verghelijcken over het voorsz equivalent, sal 't zelve gestalt worden aende Chambre mi partie, om binnen ses Maanden nae het Besluyt en Ratificatie van het Tractaet te worden ghedecideert', Tractaet van vrede beslooten den 30 january ... binnen de stadt van Munster enz, Widow Jacobsz Hillebrand van Wouw, 's-Graven-hage 1648, 9.

administrative unit. In 1702 Upper Guelders with the exception of the city of Geldern itself were conquered by the armies of the States General. Geldern capitulated in 1703 to the Prussians and became part of the Prussian territories in the Rhineland (the successor of the duchy of Cleves, which had fallen to the Elector of Brandenburg in 1614). By 1713 most of Upper Guelders was in Prussian possession.[12] The territory was splintered even further after the barrier treaties of Antwerp in 1715, when Venlo, the only other town of significant size besides Roermond and located in the North of Upper Guelders, and a small number of *heerlijkheden* in the south of the city, were ceded to the United Provinces, leaving only a rather small skeleton of former Upper Guelders in the possession of the now Austrian Netherlands.[13]

This narrative, difficult as it is to incorporate the different political entities and their relations to each other over a brief period of their eventful history, assumes that there once existed a territorial entity such as Upper Guelders, which might have manifested itself in more than just a number of legal titles written down in peace treaties and negotiations about judicial authorities and taxation rights. Historians have expressed their scepticism about the existence of such a territorial identity amongst a population which, for a good part of the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century, were confronted with warfare, sieges and foraging armies and their entourage from many parts of Europe with little sympathy for a civilian population expected to provide shelter and maintenance in war and in the precarious peace, which rarely lasted the span of a generation.[14] And if there is a quest for territorial identity, which territorial unit should be used as the 'yardstick' for inclusion and exclusion?

At first glance, the historiography of the region seems to confirm the above-mentioned scepticism about the existence of a distinct regional identity of this area. In contrast with trends elsewhere, particularly in Holland, but also in neighbouring Nijmegen, none of the cities in Upper Guelders invested in a town chronicle or chorography, although the genre was certainly blossoming

12 G.H.A. Venner. Das Oberquartier von Geldern in den Jahren 1543–1795, in: J. Stinner/K.H. Tekath (ed.), *Gelre – Geldern – Gelderland. Geschichte und Kultur des Herzogtums Geldern*, Geldern, 2001 (Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Vereins für Geldern und Umgegend 100), 75–80. Dutch remained the official language of Prussian Guelders, which also remained under the bishopric of the Roermond.

13 A detailed account of the complicated political history of the area is provided by H.H.E. Wouters, *Grensland en Bruggehoofd. Historische studies met betrekking tot het Limburgse maasdal en, meer in het bijzonder, de stad Maastricht*, Assen, 1970.

14 See, for instance, P.J.H. Ubachs, *Handboek voor de Geschiedenis van Limburg*, Hilversum, 2000, 229.

in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century.[15] This is not due to a lack of memorable events: Roermond had received city rights in 1231, was a member of the Hanse since 1441, had a mint since 1472 and was the seat of the bishop of Roermond since 1559. Neighbouring Venlo in the north could boast of a Roman settlement, a city and Hanse-privileges, but this glorious past was not woven into a representative text. It is difficult to assess whether there was no desire for such productions or whether the conditions of almost relentless war and political uncertainty interfered with any such project. The *Kroniek der Stad Roermond 1562–1638* was only published in the nineteenth century.[16] It provides a seemingly relentless report of garrisons, armies coming and going, lists of costs for bed and board for German, Dutch, Italian, Spanish or other generals and officers and the suffering of the local populations by friend and foe.[17] Its author was most likely Roermond's town scribe and secretary to the Upper Guelders estates' diets, Jan van Ryckenroy, who was in office from 1604 to 1637 and might have written or at least completed the text soon after his retirement. His version of events in Roermond during the war years is undoubtedly a narrative of victimhood in which the citizenry had to succumb to the demands of the warring armies and their masters who were constantly on the move. War is indeed the key topic of his account. Other entries covering the religious history of the place, for instance, are overshadowed by reports about sieges, burning windmills, demands for food and lodging and the measures taken to keep the frequently marauding soldiery at bay. Only a few episodes allow for accounts in which Roermond's citizens take the initiative rather than being merely forced to react to military or political orders from others. These include the citizens' involvement in the siege of 1632. Mayor Peter Bosman is repeatedly singled out as an exemplary leader and a man of action who, in times of dire need, organized a sortie to a place outside the city gates which was particularly vulnerable to the enemy's attack. This initiative took place without the intervention of the Spanish garrison then stationed in the city.[18] Bosman received high praise in an entry for 4 June 1632, when he led his fellow citizens to the defence of the city (while the drunken soldiers remained within the safety of the city walls and refused to join the action).[19] The mayor leading his citizens in times of

15 See, for instance, Esser, *The Politics of Memory*.
16 Friedrich Nettesheim (ed.), *Kroniek der Stad Roermond 1568–1638*, Publications de la societe historique et archaeologique dans le Limbourg 10, 1873.
17 Ibid., 97–344 and 12, 1875, 249–352 with appendices at 353–86.
18 *Kroniek der Stad Roermond*, vol. 12, 285.
19 Ibid., 286.

crisis is, of course, part of the repertoire of heroes involved in the tales of the Revolt (and echoes the praise for Leiden's mayor Pieter van der Werff during the city's siege in 1574). The emphasis on Bosman's loyalty to the cause of the king might also have served as a means of rehabilitating him for his role in the negotiations for surrender, which followed soon after this episode and which were undertaken by the magistrates and the bishop of Roermond against the wishes of the garrison's leader Colonel Ribaucourt. Later Bosman led a delegation to Brussels which asked to be absolved from its oath of loyalty to the archduchess in these particular circumstances. Although clearly on the side of the Southern Netherlands, van Ryckenroy provided a citizen's account and did not spare his criticism of the armies fighting for the Spanish king and the archdukes, who, in many instances, such as during a mutiny of Spanish forces in 1604/05, inflicted as much damage to the town's welfare as the enemies outside the gates.

On a more general level, van Ryckenroy's perspective is shaped by events in the Spanish Netherlands and the wider Habsburg world. He recorded, for instance, the Habsburg victory at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571 (together with the birth of Philip II's second son Ferdinand), and the election of Archduke Matthias as king of the Romans in Frankfurt in 1612.[20] Events with a more immediate effect on Roermond and the Spanish Netherlands include Archduke Albert's journey to Spain to meet his bride, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, and the commemorations on the occasion of the death of Philip II which took place in the city in December 1598.[21] Loyalties were unmistakably attached to the Catholic Church and the States' forces were frequently described as '*geuzen*' and '*rebellen*'.[22] However, what is missing in this account is a narrative of the division which had turned the inhabitants of the duchy against each other. Interestingly, troops recruited in the northern quarters of Guelders who took part in the siege of Roermond in 1577 on the Orangist side were briefly mentioned once and named 'Geldrische'.[23] This descriptor leaves the reader wondering which nomenclature van Ryckenroy would have used for the armies recruited in his own neighbourhood and who were fighting for the Spanish side. The key

20 Ibid., 132, 332.
21 Ibid., vol. 10, 302–3. See also vol. 10, 129, 'pauselijke heylichheid'.
22 Ibid. vol. 10, 120, 123. Many of these descriptors are firstly used during the account of the long siege of the city in 1577/78. It has been suggested that the detailed narrative was not the work of van Ryckenroy himself, but that he copied it from the text of an earlier author, probably his predecessor in the post of Roermond's town clerk Johan van Kampen (See Nettersheim, introduction). Whether van Ryckenroy had simply kept the earlier nomenclature of emnity or made alterations is unclear.
23 Ibid., vol. 10, 167.

figures that he mentions, however, are not members of the local elites. Apart from this remark there is no reference to, nor any criticism of, the politics of the elites in the northern quarters. Comments are focused on the military leaders in the north, thus leaving room for a possible reunion of the duchy after the end of hostilities. The crisis of the separation of a territory whose four main cities had a long tradition of solidarity dating back to the Middle Ages was, thus, passed over in silence in van Ryckenroy's text.[24]

Attempts to provide a regional history of the *Overkwartier* did not come to fruition either. On the initiative of the chancellor of the *Soevereine Raad* or *Hof in Roermond*, Hendrik Uwens, the estates of Upper Guelders had commissioned the archdukes' historiographer royal and native son of Venlo, Erycius Puteanus, in 1618 to write a history of the *Overkwartier*. Mindful of the similar projects inaugurated elsewhere in the Low Countries since the late sixteenth century, they offered the sum of 200 guilders to the eminent historian for this task. The estates had aimed high in finding a star author ready to promote their territory. They were, perhaps, particularly keen to compete with the attempts of the northern quarters who, from 1597 onwards, had commissioned a number of eminent academics to write a history of the duchy. But the southern project was never realized.[25] A later history of the duchy written by Nicolaus van Biesen, Protocancellarius of the *Hof van Gelre in Roermond*, probably in 1634, which covered the period from 878 to 1598, but with the significant omission of the Eighty Years War, is only preserved in handwritten copy.[26] The interpretation of the peace treaty of 1648, which regarded the cession of the *Overkwartier* from the rest of the duchy as only a temporary matter, subject to further negotiations, was also the basis of Arend van Slichtenhorst's description of Guelders. In his

24 For Guelders' medieval cities see Aart Noordzij, *Dynastie, land en identiteit in de late middeleeuwen*, Hilversum, 2009.

25 J.B. Sivré, Opdragt aan Ericius Puteanus om de geschiedenis van het Overkwartier te schrijven, in: *De Maasgouw* 1879, 39. A detailed investigation into the project and its eventual failure is still extant. The northern project also ran into difficulties. One by one the academics approached to fulfill the task died before completion and the desired history was only realized in 1639 with the publication of Johannes Pontanus's *Historiae Gelricae Libri XIV*.

26 Nikolaus Biesen, *Chronicon ducatus Geldriae (878–1598)*, 1634, RHC Maastricht, Archief van de Staten van het Overkwartier van Gelre, Handschriftencollectie J.B. Syben, inv. No. 1346, Gemeentearchief Roermond, coll. Hss. Afd. 6 nr. 1 cat. nr. 26. In his last chapter Biesen stated that he had not been able to write a research-based history of the events during the reign of King Philip II and thereafter because he had no access to the archives. His own account of the history of Guelders was based on secondary works listed in some detail at the beginning of his study.

Geldersse Geschiedenissen, a project commissioned by the three northern estates of Guelders to translate an earlier Latin history of the duchy by Johannes Isacius Pontanus into the vernacular, he portrayed Roermond as one of the most prominent, prosperous and beautiful cities of the duchy, second only to Nijmegen.[27] The frontispiece of his voluminous book still showed the traditional four quarters symbolised by the coat of arms of their main cities: Arnhem, Nijmegen, Zutphen and Roermond. For van Slichtenhorst, who was then working as a clerk for the (northern) States of Guelders, even six years (not six months, as stated in the peace treaty) after the Treaties of Westphalia, Roermond and the *Overkwartier* could and should still be reunited with the three other quarters either by exchange or by purchase. In his version of events, the city was taken by the Spanish troops by force, and not in accordance with the desire of its residents – an interpretation which, as we have seen, had not been shared by van Ryckenroy. A few years prior to the peace treaties, Nijmegen's *stadsadvocaat* Lambert Goris still counted Roermond in a similar manner as the second city in the duchy, in a poem written in praise of the four main cities of the four quarters in 1645. In this poem he likened the four quarters to the four seasons, thus making the *Overkwartier* a natural and necessary part of Guelders.[28] Expectations of a reunification of the old duchy, therefore, remained high on the agenda of northern authors. Even after quite a few years had passed since the treaties of 1648, representatives of the northern estates upheld the fiction that the cession of the *Overkwartier* was only a temporary measure.

More literature is available, however, from the religious houses and other Catholic institutions in the area, including some rather acute and sharp observations about the iconoclastic fury and the early phase of the Eighty Years War recorded by Sister Maria Luyten of the nunnery Maria-Wijngaard in Weert.[29] During the years preceding this final outcome of negotiations (which, as it turned out, were quickly overturned by the series of events following the short-lived peace in this area) Catholic authorities had invested heavily and strategically in creating the *Overkwartier* and the bishopric of Roermond as a holy land under the special protection of the key guarantor of Counter-Reformation piety: the Blessed Virgin Mary. The diocese, set up in 1559 (under the tutelage

27 Arend van Slichtenhorst, *XIV Boeken van de Geldersse Geschiedenissen*, Arnhem 1654, 59.

28 Lambert Goris, *Commentario ad tres & viginity priores titulos reformatae consuetudinis Velaviae*, Nijmegen, 1645, cited in Noorzij, *Dynastie*, 324–5.

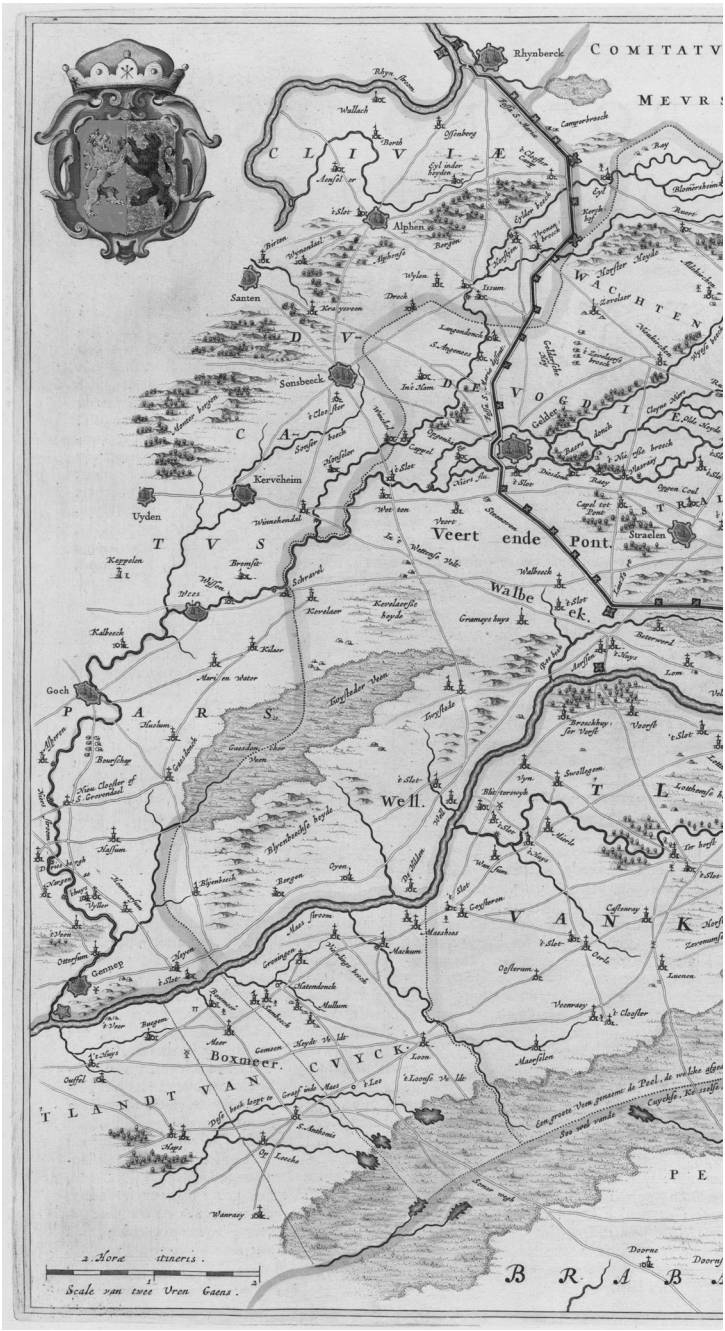
29 *Kronijk uit het klooster Maria-Wijngaard te Weert 1442–1584, gevolgd door eene bijdrage tot die kronijk voor het jaar 1566 en een vijftal stukken betrekkelijk de Hervorming te Weert 1583–1584, inleiding van Ch. Creemers, bijdrage van Jos. Habets.*, Roermond, 1875.

of the archbishopric of Mechelen), was a product of the much maligned diocesan reforms of Philip II, which had been one of the measures that had sparked resistance in the Low Countries. The diocese extended into the political border area of the duchy of Jülich-Cleves-Berg (and its successors, the Duchy of Cleves, from 1614 onwards under Brandenburg rule and the Duchy of Jülich-Berg under the House of Pfalz-Neuburg, a Wittelsbach branch, whose ruler, Wolfgang Wilhelm, had converted from Lutheranism to Catholicism in 1613). Recent literature emphasises the role of the Counter-Reformation in strengthening a distinct Catholic identity in the Spanish Netherlands (but also among the Catholic population in the United Provinces).[30] The Provincial Council of Mechelen in 1607 set the agenda for renewed efforts to implement Counter-Reformation measures in the area. The education of priests and the laity should be improved, the number of visitations increased. The development of pilgrimage sites and sacred shrines was supported by the energetic archbishop, Mathias Hovius, who encouraged the Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella in their Scherpenheuvel project.[31] The development of Marian and other shrines was not restricted to the Low Countries, but became a typical feature of Counter-Reformation initiatives all over Europe during the post-Tridentine period.[32] It allowed, even required, an involvement of all layers of society and depended on the agency not just of the Catholic professional establishment of the orders, diocesan representatives or members of the local clergy, but also on, at the least, the collaboration, sometimes the initiative, of ordinary men and women in search of a suitable response to their spiritual needs. In the Low Countries, many of these initiatives were taken at the crossroads of important political events. The negotiations and eventual conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce was one of these key moments; the peace negotiations in Osnabrück and Münster some thirty years later was another. It is no coincidence, for instance, that the cult of Our Lady of Kevelaer – centred around a print of the Virgin with Child which might have come to the area from a similar shrine in Luxemburg with soldiers of the Imperial general Guillaume de Lamboy in 1642 – was officially established by the diocesan synod at a meeting in Venlo on 13 January

30 See, most recently, Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands 1520–1635*, Oxford, 2011.

31 For the development of the cult of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel see Luc Duerloo/Marc Wingens, *Schepenheuvel: Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen*, Leuven, 2002.

32 See, for instance, Marc R. Forster, *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in the Age of the Baroque*, Cambridge, 2001; Trevor Johnson, *Magistrates, Miracles and Madonnas: The Counter Reformation in the Upper Palatinate*, Farnham, 2009.



Joannes Blaeu, Tetrachia Ducatus Gelriae Ruraemundensis (1664).
Source: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tetrarchia_Ducatus_Gelriae_Ruraemundensis_(1664).jpg?uselang=nl


TETRARCHIA
Ducatus Gelriæ
RVRÆMVNDENSIS
VENLO.
ROERMOND.
GEL
DER.
WACHTENDONCK
STRALEN.
ERKELENS.
ECHT.
NIEVSTADT.
STIFT
IVLA-
CENSIS
DVCATVS
PARS.
Kempen
COLLEN
Vyerssen
Dulcken
Bruggen
Kruchten.
Wassenberg
Eyckelens
Swanenborg
Hoorn
COMI-
FORT.
Vucht
Nieustadt
Mosseyck
Weert
Notarum Explicatio
Steden. Oppida
Dorpen. Pagi
Cloosters. Monasteria
Watermolens.
Wint-molens. Molendina
Forten. Fortalitia
Sloten.
VAN LVYCK.

1647.[33] An investigation was held to assess the events of the previous six years in which the cult had started to develop. In 1643 the construction of a chapel to house the venerated image was completed under the auspices of Balduin de Gaulle, then Vicar-General *sede vacante* of the diocese Roermond. At the 1647 convocation, Antonius Bosman, de Gaulle's successor as Vicar-General, confirmed the role of the Oratorian order whose members, encouraged by the archbishop of Mechelen, had supported the cult in Kevelaer since April 1646 and had built their house in the vicinity of the chapel to oversee the devotional activities around the shrine. Members of the congregation in charge of the Marian cult in Scherpenheuvel, then already the most important pilgrimage site in the Spanish Netherlands, moved to Kevelaer. In 1647 a second, larger chapel was built to accommodate the growing pilgrimage activities around the shrine. It was completed in 1649 and officially consecrated on 2 May 1649 by Joannes Sternebergen, a converted son of a Calvinist patrician family from Wesel, and suffragan bishop of Münster.[34] The first public procession from Roermond, led by the then Bishop Eugenius Albertus d'Allamont, arrived in Kevelaer on 25 May 1662. The development of the devotion to the Virgin with Child was supported and promoted by the publication of a series of texts reflecting the nature of the devotional literature of the time. It can even be argued that these texts, often from the pens of the Jesuits, filled the gap that the silences of the secular literature had left. Here, Catholic authors provided what might be called manuals for crisis management with the Virgin in charge to respond to the spiritual and very physical needs of the local population. Sometime before 1648, *Het Pelgrimken van Kevelaer*, a manual with hymns and prayers for pilgrims to Kevelaer by the Jesuit poet Adriaan Poirters, prefect of the Jesuit college in Roermond in 1641, was printed in the city.[35] Caspar du Pree, since 1645 sworn printer of the Court of Upper Guelders, the city and the diocese of Roermond, also printed a series of other texts in devotion to the shrine. In

33 On the possible links with the Luxemburg shrine see Robert Plötz, Demonstratio catholica. Loreto – Scherpenheuvel – Luxemburg – Kevelaer, in: Dieter Geuenich (ed.), *Heiligenverehrung und Wallfahrten am Niederrhein, Schriftenreihe der Niederrhein-Akademie Band 6*, Essen, 2004, 188–207.

34 C.H., *Beschryvinge van Kevelaer, met de opkomste en voortgang van de devotie tot de allerheyligste maegd en moeder Gods Maria*, Geldern, 1792, 8. Here, Sterneberg is erroneously described as suffragan bishop of Cologne. It remains somewhat unclear why a suffragan bishop of Münster should act in such manner outside his diocese. Records of Sterneberg's consecrating activities are, unfortunately, patchy.

35 Rainer Killich, *Adriaan Poirters, 'Het Pelgrimken van Kevelaer'. Rekonstruktion historischer Kevelaer Wallfahrtsgesänge aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Münster, 2001.

1647 du Pree published the proceedings of the Synod in Venlo, which confirmed the sacred powers of the image through the record of eight miracles at the site.[36] In 1649 du Pree also published a second pilgrimage text, *Een schoone Maniere om devotelyk naer Kevelaer te gaan* written by Theodor Caesar, canon in the neighbouring city of Cleves. The narrative of the establishment of the cult, which centred on the initiative of a local man and his wife, who, according to the legend, received orders from the Virgin to create a place of worship in the area in 1641, seems to be a later addition to the cult and is firstly recorded in significant detail by an anonymous text entitled *Opkomste ende voortgang der Devotie binnen het Dorp van Kevelaer*, which was only printed in 1696.[37] The swift rise of the cult's prominence in the seventeenth century indicates that it served the spiritual needs of a war-torn society struggling to come to terms with confessional strife, continuous warfare and the brutalities of soldiers from either sides of the conflict.[38] It confirms Judith Pollmann's conclusions about the role of Catholicism in the Southern Netherlands, which was actively supported by a population embracing Counter-Reformation practices as a defining feature of their culture.[39] The veneration of a rather humble and small replica of a replica (the Luxemburg image itself was designed after the Scherpenheuvel Madonna) might allow for further speculations about a more directed acquisition of the image by those in charge of the cult.[40] The success of the site in attracting pilgrims from across the border is testimony to a strengthening of Catholicism in a territory so frequently torn apart by confessional and political strife.

The pilgrimage to Kevelaer overshadowed the local site of Onze Lieve Vrouw in't Zand, situated on the outskirts of Roermond itself. A first chapel dedicated to Mary was erected in 1418, but the veneration of a small wooden statue of the Virgin with child is of a later date. Seventeenth-century accounts of the miraculous powers of the image, whose legendary discovery in a well by a humble shepherd is a familiar topos in the establishment of Counter-Refor-

36 *Verhael van de Mirakelen door de sprake vande alder H. Moeder ende altoos Maget Maria geschiet im Dorp van Kevelaer gelegen twee Mylen vande Stadt Gelder in't bisdom van Ruremonde*, Roermond, 1647.

37 Details about the publication and dissemination of an originating legend dating back to 1642 are discussed in: Peter Lingens, Offene Fragen zur Frühgeschichte der Kevelaer-Wallfahrt, in: Geuenich, *Heiligenverehrung und Wallfahrten am Niederrhein*, 208–21.

38 Ibid., 210.

39 Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, especially 188.

40 See Robert Plötz, *Demonstratio catholica*, 188–207.

mation Marian shrines,[41] date the beginnings of the Virgin's interventions at in't Zand to the fifteenth century. Later historians were more cautious, suggesting that the recognition of the miraculous powers of the statue could not be traced with certainty to the period prior to 1610. In 1578 the first chapel had been destroyed by the Spanish forces in the city fearing that its strategic position on a slight hill towering over the city might be used by the approaching Orangist armies. Building work for a new chapel started after the ratification of the Twelve Years Truce and was completed in 1613. It is in this period that the veneration of the wooden image and its miraculous power was systematically promoted. Initiatives were taken by a number of stakeholders: the local parish priests, the city magistrates, the bishop of Roermond, the Jesuits who established a college in the city in 1611, and the authorities in Brussels, including most prominently the archducal couple. The steps taken as well as the interplay of these powers are strikingly similar to the systematic promotion of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, established in the vicinity of Brussels only ten years prior to the cult in Roermond. They also prefigured the later cult of Kevelaer. What all three places also had in common was their extremely close proximity to the confessional and political border. Scherpenheuvel was at times literally on the front line of the Eighty Years War, the chapel in't Zand was only a few metres away from the border with the neighbouring duchy of Jülich, while Kevelaer, on Guelders territory, was in close proximity to the duchy of Cleves in the possessions of Calvinist Brandenburg with the border literally crossing through the northern outskirts of the town.[42] Similar to procedures in Kevelaer some thirty years later, the official establishment of the new church in't Zand was combined with a report of a miraculous healing recorded for Bishop Jacob a Castro on the Marian feast day of 15 August 1613.[43] Prior to this the city magistrates had issued a document stating that even after the destruction of 1578 the place had been used as a pilgrimage site and had been the scene of seven miraculous healings attributed to the

41 See, for instance, the originating legend of the Madonna of Scherpenheuvel recorded by Philip Numan, *Historie vande miraculen* …, Brussels, 1604, 28–29. See also Marc Wingens, Over de Grens, 67.

42 After the death of the childless Duke Johann Wilhelm in 1609, an interim regime was established until the division of the Duchy into the northern Duchy of Cleves and the southern Duchy of Jülich-Berg. The compromise guaranteeing tolerance of the three great Christian confessions in the territory which had been agreed during the interim regime, continued relatively successfully, even after 1614, when each political party tried to promote its own confession in the territory.

43 See also *Kroniek*, 337.

intervention of the Virgin.[44] Both the Roermond city fathers and the local clergy requested donations for the new building from Roermond's citizens. The town magistrates also sent a petition to the Archdukes who had been prominent supporters of Scherpenheuvel and other Marian cults. Moreover, Archduke Albert had visited Roermond in 1602 and 1603 while on campaign in the East.[45] The petition was a success: on 23 August 1613 the couple sent a donation of 100 guilders in support of the building works. Additional propaganda was provided by the local Jesuits, who mentioned the 'Virgo Gelris' in a text written for the Roermond magistrates by pupils of the college under the guidance of their rector, Otho Zylius alias van Zijl. His *Ruraemunda Illustrata* was published in Leuven in 1613.[46] Further support was given by a number of prominent donors. Records of regional or national recognition of the shrine through pilgrimages, however, are patchy.[47] The *Kroniek der Stad Roermond* notes the celebration of the first mass in the newly completed chapel in't Zand by the dean of the diocese Dr Petrus Pollius in its otherwise rather brief entry for the year 1613.[48] In 1610 the *Kroniek* had mentioned the official beginning of the building works in a ceremony conducted by Pollius and Roermond's mayor Matheus Butgens.[49] Further publicity for the cult was provided at the end of the century by the publication of a series of texts recording the activities of Roermond's *geestelijke maagd*, Joanna Baptista van Randenraedt, a spiritual daughter under the guidance of the Jesuit order, who enthusiastically promoted the devotion to the Virgin. It has been argued that with the hardening of the confessional divide the challenges of Calvinism were seen as less acute by the agents of Catholicism. Instead, the focus of attention shifted towards other scenarios further afield. In 1683 Joanna van Randenraedt promoted the pilgrimage to the site in't Zand to ask the Virgin's support for the Viennese population then under siege by the Ottoman armies. Her prayers were heard. On 12 September she had a vision wherein she was told that the Ottomans had withdrawn their assault on the city. A few

44 A continuous cult of the image even after the destruction of the early chapel is also mentioned in the *Kroniek der Stad Roermond*, 214.

45 *Kroniek*, 312, 315.

46 Otho Zylius, *Ruraemunda Illustrata a Rhetoribus Gymnasii S.J. Ruraemundenses*, Leuven, 1613.

47 Records of the Oratorians are not completely preserved and entries differ in their degree of accuracy.

48 *Kroniek*, 337.

49 *Kroniek*, 331. The chronicler also recorded the arrival of the Jesuit order in the city for this year.

days later the news of the end of the siege arrived in the *Overkwartier*.[50] The experiences of Joanna van Randenraedt, who had had similar visions at the siege of Roermond in 1632, and those of an earlier *maagd* in the city, Agnes van Heilsbach, also inspired by a deep devotion to Our Lady in't Zand, were published in 1690 and 1691 in texts written by the Jesuit Daniel Huysmans.[51] They further propagated the cult of the Virgin.

It is certainly also no coincidence that around the conclusion of the Treaties of Westphalia, which still left the fate of Upper Guelders somewhat open, members of the other influential order in the diocese reissued the memory of one of the most dramatic narratives of the war in the South. The history of the martyrs of Roermond, twelve men, who had been murdered by Orangist soldiers in the Carthusian House in the city in 1572, had become an important element of the anti-Protestant, anti-Orangist repertoire among supporters of the Spanish case in the Low Countries. A first public narrative of these killings appeared in the same year in an Italian account printed in Rome.[52] The story was also incorporated into Richard Verstegan's popular *Theatrum Crudelitatum haereticorum nostri tempori*, published in Antwerp in 1587, whose graphic print of the event became a model for later illustrations of the massacre. The grim details of the murders were also narrated by members of the Carthusian order. Encouraged by the bishops of Roermond and 's Hertogenbosch and by the prior of the Carthusian house in Roermond, Arnold Havens, who was based in the city from 1601 to 1604, wrote a Latin account of the order's history in Roermond and in the Netherlands in general. In his *Historica*, which was published in Ghent in 1608, the brutalities of the murders also featured prominently.[53] This particular episode of Havens's book was translated by Michael Uwens, a member of a

50 Marc Wingens, *Over de grens. De bedevaart van katholieke Nederlanders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw*, Nijmegen, 1994, 53.

51 Daniel Huysmans, *Kort begryp des levens ende der deughden van de wwerdighe Joanna van Randenraedt geestelycke dochter oder de bestieringhe der Societeyt Iesu*, Antwerpen, 1690; ibid., *Leven en deughden vande weerdighe Agnes van Heilsbagh gheestelycke dochter onder de bestieringhe der Societeit Iesu*, Antwerpen, 1691.

52 *L'inudite et monstruose crudeltà, usate da gli heretici contra li ministri di Dio, nella espugnatione della Citta die Ruremonde in Fiandra il di 23 di Luglio 1572*, Rome, 1572.

53 Arnoldus Havensius, *Historica relatio duodecim martyrum Cartusianorum qui Ruraemundae in ducatu Geldriae anno M.D.LXXII agnomen suum feliciter compleverunt*, Gent, 1608. Encouraged by Aubertus Miraeus, the bishop of Roermond, Heinrich Cuykius Havens also wrote a history of the Counter-Reformation in the Low Countries with an emphasis on the diocese of Roermond, which was published under the title *Commentarius De erectione novorum in Belgio episcopatuum* in Cologne in 1609.

younger generation of Carthusians based in Roermond, and published under the title *Historie van de twelf martelaers* by Caspar du Pree in 1649.[54]

However, while the agents of the Counter-Reformation fortified Upper Guelders as a sacred space and a bulwark of Catholic piety par excellence, which was the envy of the heretics, so the comment of the *Ruraemunda Ilustrata* ties between the four quarters remained strong, at least throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. One particularly remarkable example of the continuing links between the four main cities in Guelders is the donation of money for the reglazing of the main church in Roermond, dedicated to Saint Christopher. On 6 November 1615 the magistrates of Roermond sent letters to their colleagues in Nijmegen, Arnhem and Zutphen asking them to contribute to the restoration of the damaged glass windows of the church. Within a few days they received positive replies and promises of money from the addressees. The representatives of the three cities responded on 8, 10 and 15 November respectively.[55] The gift of glazed windows had been much practised in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Netherlands. The most prominent example can be found in the St Jan's kerk in Gouda, where no less than eight neighbouring towns and governments commissioned windows to the church between 1594 and 1603. While much study has been undertaken about the churches in the province of Holland, it was not uncommon that other churches in less densely populated and prosperous parts of the Netherlands were also the recipients of windows donated by other towns.[56] Andrew Spicer has pointed out that these practices could be seen as an expression of urban solidarity among the towns of the Netherlands in times of war and crisis. At the same time, the decorations of these windows could be used to highlight the importance of the donor and add a visual image of their contribution to the dramatic events of the Eighty Years War. It is remarkable, however, that this practice crossed the political and confessional boundaries of the Dutch Republic and the Spanish Netherlands in 1615. It has been convincingly argued that the Twelve Years Truce manifested

54 Michael Uwens, *Historie van de twelf martelaers der Carthuyser ordre, die binnen de stadt Ruremonde in 't jaer ons Heeren 1572 haeren strijdt geelukkelijck hebben volbracht, door 't onnosel vergieten haers bloedts*, Roermond, 1649.

55 For the correspondence see: Inventaris van het Oud Archief der Gemeente Roermond, 3e stuk, Roermond, 99–101.

56 For further information, see: Andrew Spicer, 'So many painted Jezebels': stained glass windows and the formation of an urban identity in the Dutch Republic, in: Judith Pollmann/Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, Leiden, 2007, 249–77.

and cemented the cultural and political differences that had grown up between the two parts of the Low Countries rather than offering an opportunity for reconciliation. After years of warfare people could and did visit those parts of the country on the respective other side of the front line and they noticed the cultural divide that had emerged over the years of struggle.[57] These differences were certainly also visible in Guelders. In spite of the widening confessional gap between the *Overkwartier* and the three northern quarters, however, a sense of community and solidarity clearly still prevailed. The Roermond correspondents invoked the above-mentioned '*frunttschap en naaburschap*' between the four cities, which needed to be maintained and deepened. This rhetoric of neighbourliness was echoed in the three responses from the North.[58] While the invitation to support the glazing work sent to the North only mentioned that the names of the donor cities would be clearly visible on the windows, it might have been very obvious that the motives for the windows in Roermond's main church dedicated to Saint Christopher would carry a Catholic message. On 8 April 1616 the town council commissioned the glassmaker Jan Roeloffs van Diepenbeeck, a prominent artisan-artist with a base in 's Hertogenbosch, to create four glass windows with eight scenes of the life of the Virgin, the annunciation, the birth of Christ, the purification of Christ, Christ being taken from the Cross, Mother and Child, Mary's death and her ascension and crowning in heaven.[59] There are no references to any critique against these motives from the donors. The work was expected to be completed within thirteen to fourteen months, and on 14 October 1617 Jan's son Gisbert Roeloff acknowledged the receipt of 424 Philipsgulden from the four cities, including Roermond itself.[60] Unfortunately, the windows did not survive and their fate remains unclear. Whether this same rhetoric of friendship would have been employed after the end of the ceasefire in 1621 is open to debate.

In other respects the Roermond city councillors also kept in contact with their peers across the border. The magistrates shared information about legal practices, as recorded, for instance, in letters by the magistrates of Arnhem and Nijmegen to their colleagues about their role in the estates' diet sent to Roer-

57 Judith Pollmann, Reinventing Netherlandish identity, 1585–1621, in: Pollmann/Stein (eds.), *Networks, Regions and Nations*, 241–62.
58 Gemeentearchief Roermond, Roermonds Archief Omslag, 50, 51, 53, 54.
59 Fr. D. O. Obreen, *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis*, 1. Deel, Rotterdam 1877–1888, 168–169; Inventaris, 102–3.
60 Ibid., 170.

mond in January 1630.[61] The questions that were asked here touched upon an important aspect of power politics in Guelders dating back to the Treaty of Venlo. The political elites of the duchy were confronted with the increasing influence of politicians in The Hague and Brussels. The uncertainties of war led to a rise of responsibilities and rights from centralizing powers challenging the traditional particularism of the duchy. References to a common past and common political practice on either side of the border have to be interpreted in this light and certainly require further attention.[62] This special status, desired by the duchy's elite, was also emphasised in the texts written by van Slichtenhorst.

Only well after 1648, when another generation came to power, did the regional elite of Upper Guelders, the *ridderschap*, gradually part from a common Guelders practice in its recruitment and admission policy. The meeting increasingly took its lead from its peers in Jülich rather than from its northern colleagues. In 1660, for instance, it was decreed that acceptance into the knight's college should follow criteria set up in Jülich in the previous year.[63] Procedures also differed from those in place for their peers in the other three quarters of Guelders with regard to the acceptance of members who did not have their main domain within the territory but came from outside the *Overkwartier* and who became part of the *ridderschap* through marriage and acquisition rather than lineage. While the knights of the northern quarters became increasingly exclusive in their recruitment procedures, thus following examples in other provinces of the States Generals such as Utrecht and Holland, Upper Guelders, not least because of its generally relatively small body of members, practised a more open policy and allowed membership of knights whose main residence was in Jülich or Berg, and who also sent delegates to those diets. Trying to spread their family's influence on both sides of the territorial border was a strat-

61 For the correspondence see: Inventaris van het Oud Archief der Gemeente Roermond, 3e stuk, Roermond, 126–7.

62 For further details see, for instance, G.H.A. Venner Het Hof van Gelre te Roermond 1580–1794. Enige aspecten van zijn geschiedenis, samestelling en bevoedheden, Jaarboek Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Genootschap 145, 2009, 115–204; see also A.M.J.A. Berkvens, In wesen sal het Tractaet van Venlo onderhalden werden ... Het Tractaat van Venlo als fundamentele wet van Spaans en Oostenrijks Gelre 1580–1794, in: F. Keveling Buisman et al. (ed.), *Verdrag en Tractaat van Venlo. Herdenkingsbundel 1543–1993*, Hilversum, 1993.

63 These and the following information on the knights of Upper Guelders are taken from: G.H.A. Venner, *De ridderschap van het Overkwartier van Gelder 1590–1702*, Publications de la Société Historique et Archéologicque dans le Limbourg 134–135, 1998/1999, 267–426, here. 274.

egy which some of the knights actively pursued. The house of Schaesberg, for instance, with possessions and rights in Wankum, Krickenbeck and Erkelenz, on either side of the territorial border, sent delegates both to Roermond and to Düsseldorf.[64] While the value of a knightly estate did not play a role in the application process, adherence to the Catholic Church was a criterion for inclusion or exclusion. Active members of the military profession were excluded in the North, but military service was not regarded as detrimental to the membership of the knightly council in Upper Guelders. Many of these measures were undoubtedly taken to support an already rather small assembly and allow for the functioning of the institution. They, however, also facilitated a departure from practice in other parts of Guelders, thus closing doors to a reunion which had been seen as a possibility over a long period of time.

In summary, the border area of the *Overkwartier* remained a contested territory with a complicated network of alliances and identities which gradually changed over time. It is undoubtedly the case that the experience of incessant warfare and marching and marauding armies became a key feature of identity in the area. Here expressions of victimhood and subjection to the wider political agenda and, more imminently, the will of warlords and mercenaries became a prominent feature in the local account available for the quarter's main city. Other histories are significantly absent – whether out of the desire not to manifest the rift between the once close four quarters and their citizens or out of an inability to provide an unambiguous narrative of a civil war is open to debate. Relations to the three quarters in the north remained open for a long time. While the Twelve Years Truce has been seen as a period in which the difference between the two parts of the Netherlands became clearly visible and grew, contemporary commentators of the political border area of the divided duchy of Guelders tried to maintain an image of unity which was based on the tradition of the duchy and its rights, guaranteed in the Treaty of Venlo in 1543.[65] The reference to the distinct particularism of this latest acquisition of the Habsburg Netherlands of Charles V also served to keep intact a sense of common identity on both sides of the border. This identity found its expression in the donation

64 L. Peters, *Geschichte des Geschlechtes von Schaesberg bis zur Mediatisierung*, Assen, 1972 (Maasland Monografieën 16).

65 There were also dissenting voices such as Alexander van der Capellen, a Zutphen nobleman in service of the Gelderland estates and their representative at the States General, who, in his diary, declared the reunification with Upper Guelders as a lost cause, because he did not see any political will to 'freedom' among the members of the Overkwartier. Alexander van der Capellen, *Biografisch Woordenboek Gelderland*, Hilversum, vol. 8, 36–40.

of the windows in Roermond's main church where anti-Catholic sentiments among the northern elite were less prominent than a sense of common solidarity among the four traditional main cities of the duchy. At the same time, the area became a heartland of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, whose agents might have filled the absence of narratives of belonging in civic literature. It has been argued that the Jesuits were among the most vocal supporters of a common Netherlandish identity under the Spanish king.[66] Other orders, like the Carthusians, found it convenient to remind their readers of Protestant atrocities during the early phase of the conflict at key moments in the political history of the territory, thus dividing, rather than uniting, the Netherlands. Catholic initiatives in and around Roermond, however, also cast a wider net of Catholic solidarity with links to pilgrimage sites on the borders and beyond. References to political practices in these territories, notably also to duchies and thus comparable in status to Guelders, became increasingly important to the political regional elite whose recruitment policy departed from practice in Guelders and was aligned to rules and regulations of Jülich rather than Nijmegen, Arnhem or Zutphen.

Old habits died hard in the borderland of Guelders. The local elites adhered to a common past and a common policy in wartime as long as possible without making references to war and partition, invoking instead a vocabulary of neighbourliness and common tradition. Historiography, which would have manifested a division, was notably absent in this scenario, where the agents of the Catholic Church stepped into an interpretative void left by the silences of civic narratives. Jesuits such as Zylius and Poiters with no familial attachment to the area found it easier to express a rhetoric of division based on confessional lines and provided coping manuals and mechanisms for a border society in crisis.

66 Judith Pollmann, *Reinventing Netherlandish Identity*, 1585–1621, 259.

Bertrand Forclaz

'Turning Swiss'?

Border Identities in the Swiss Confederation During the Thirty Years War[1]

In the *Ancien Régime*, borders presented a negotiated, ambiguous and moving character. Ground-breaking studies, in the late 1980s and 1990s, have established this for cases such as France and Spain, i.e. states traditionally considered as models of centralised monarchies. More recently, historians have studied the variety and multiplicity of borders and boundaries across early modern Europe and investigated the different levels at which they were relevant: not only that of nations and states, but also that of regions – an evolution that goes together with the emergence of transnational regions in Europe. Recent scholarship has also focused on the complex relationship between borders and collective identities.[2] The Swiss Confederation is an extremely interesting case for such a research on borders and border identities: it was in the early modern period a league of largely autonomous territories separated by internal linguistic, religious, geographic and political borders; at the same time, it was located at the heart of Western Europe and its external borders were commercially important, politically vital for its security and extremely ambiguous as the extension of the Confederation varied. Studying both external and internal borders allows us to see how the various identities

1 The reference is to Thomas Brady, *Turning Swiss: Cities and Empire, 1450–1550*, Cambridge, 1985. This chapter is part of a research funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF), 'Les identités à l'épreuve des frontières: la guerre de Trente ans dans l'Arc jurassien'. I would like to thank the SNSF for its generous funding, as well as my assistant Franziska Kissling for her precious help with archival research.

2 See Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*, Berkeley, 1989; Daniel Nordman, *Frontières de France. De l'espace au territoire, XVIe–XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1998; Etienne François/Jörg Seifarth/Bernhard Struck (eds.), *Die Grenze als Raum, Erfahrung und Konstruktion. Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen vom 17. bis 20. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, 2007; Steven G. Ellis/Raingard Eßer (eds.), *Frontiers, Regions and Identities in Europe*, Pisa, 2009; Christine Roll et al. (eds.), *Grenzen und Grenzenüberschreitungen. Bilanz und Perspektiven der Frühneuzeit-Forschung*, Köln, 2010. For historiographical reviews, see for example François Walter, Frontiere, confini e territorialità, in: *Storica: rivista quadrimestrale*, 7, 2001, 19, 117–39; Christian Windler, Grenzen vor Ort, in: *Rechtsgeschichte*, 1, 2002, 122–45.

at play – political, territorial, cultural and confessional – were combined and how they reinforced or attenuated borders.[3]

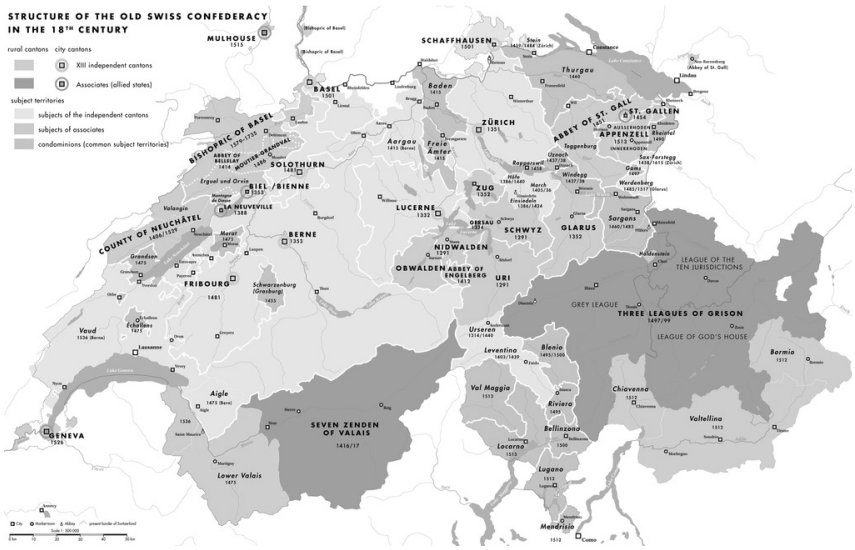
In this chapter, two associate members of the Swiss Confederation located on its western border, the County of Neuchâtel and the bishopric of Basel, during the Thirty Years War, and their complex relationship to the Confederation will be studied. Political and religious borders divided these territories. On the political level, the bishopric of Basel belonged partly to the Holy Roman Empire, as the bishop of Basel was a prince of that Empire, partly to the Swiss Confederation. As for Neuchâtel, it kept close relationships with France through its dynasty, as the county of Neuchâtel belonged from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century to a French noble family; however, it was considered a part of the Swiss Confederation, as the count of Neuchâtel as well as cities of the county had treaties of *combourgeoisie* with several cantons.[4] The borders involved were also religious, as both territories were characterized by a situation of confessional coexistence between Catholics and Protestants: the bishopric of Basel was divided between a Protestant and a Catholic part, and Neuchâtel, although almost exclusively Protestant, belonged to a Catholic ruler. It will be considered how local actors mobilised these diverging confessional and political identities in a period of crisis, as the Thirty Years War posed a threat to Neuchâtel and caused the occupation of the bishopric of Basel. The sources which will be relied on for this chapter are diverse: first-person writings, administrative reports, judiciary acts.

Context

In the early modern period, the Swiss Confederation was a complex and loose political structure (see Map 1). It consisted of different types of territories: thirteen cantons with their own government; so-called mandated territories or con-

3 The topics of borders and border identities has so far attracted little attention in scholarship concerning early modern Switzerland: see however Wolfgang Kaiser/Claudius Sieber-Lehmann/ Christian Windler (eds.), *Eidgenössische 'Grenzfälle': Mülhausen und Genf – En marge de la Confédération: Mulhouse et Genève*, Basel 2000; Florian Hitz, *Fürsten, Vögte und Gemeinden. Politische Kultur zwischen Habsburg und Graubünden im 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, Baden, 2012.

4 In a treaty of *combourgeoisie*, a city granted another city a convent or a noble its citizenship; the *combourgeois* benefited from some of the privileges that citizens enjoyed (such as military protection and access to the market); on the other hand, they brought incomes – such as taxes – and troops to the city. See Andreas Würgler, Combourgeoisie, in: *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse* (*DHS*), translated from German, version of 3 August 2005, www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F9829.php.



Map 1: The Swiss Confederation. *Note*: The map represents the situation in the eighteenth century, though there are few differences from the previous one. *Source*: Marco Zanoli.

dominiums (*Gemeine Herrschaften*), areas that part of the cantons had conquered or bought in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century and which they governed in common as subject territories; associate members (*Zugewandte Orte*), i.e. neighbouring states which were allied to some cantons, but which did not take part in the administration of the mandated territories. The only common institution was the Federal Diet, which was made up of delegates of each canton and of some associate members; its competencies were limited. The political fragmentation of the Swiss Confederation was furthered, after the Reformation, by its religious division, since seven cantons remained Catholic, four became Protestant and two were mixed; similarly, the associate members were divided between the confessions. Finally, whereas the ruling elite of all cantons spoke German, several subject territories and associate members were French or Italian-speaking.[5]

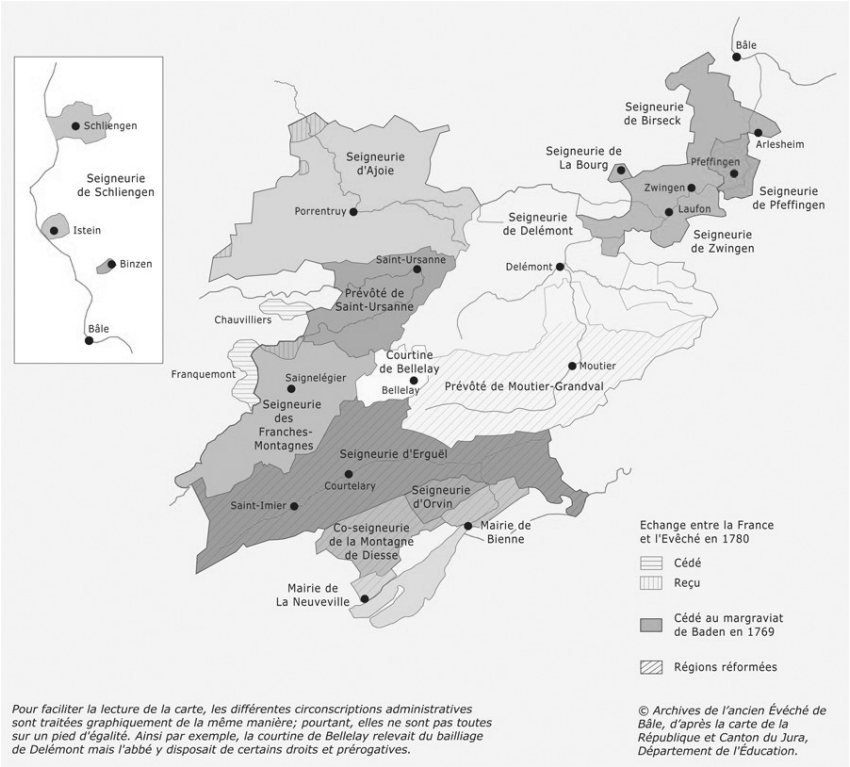
5 See Hans Conrad Peyer, *Verfassungsgeschichte der alten Schweiz*, Zürich, 1978; Andreas Würgler, 'The League of Discordant Members' or how the old Swiss Confederation operated and how it managed to survive for so long, in: André Holenstein/Thomas Maissen/Maarten Praak (eds.), *The Republican Alternative: The Netherlands and Switzerland compared*, Amsterdam, 2008, 29–50; Andreas Würgler, Which Switzerland? Contrasting conceptions of the early modern Swiss Confederation in early modern minds and maps, in: Beat Kümin/James C. Scott (eds.), *Political Space in Pre-Industrial Europe*, Aldershot, 2009, 197–213.

The cases that will be studied here are the County of Neuchâtel and the bishopric of Basel, two associate members located on the western border of the Swiss Confederation. From the sixteenth to the late seventeenth century, the county of Neuchâtel was subject to a French noble family related to the royalty, the Orléans-Longueville, which had inherited the county through a succession. The Orléans-Longueville never resided in Neuchâtel and were represented by a governor who administered the county with the assistance of a council of state, whose members belonged to the local elites. The county also kept close relationships with the Swiss Confederation – its official denomination was 'Comté de Neuchâtel en Suisse': in the early sixteenth century, it had been a mandated territory of the cantons, and it had treaties of *combourgeoisie* with several cantons, including its powerful neighbour, Berne. In the 1530s, most of the county had accepted the Reformation under Berne's influence. As the Orléans-Longueville were Catholics, Neuchâtel therefore constituted a blatant exception to the principle *cuius regio, eius religio*.[6]

The bishopric of Basel proved even more complicated (see Map 2). After the Reformation, the bishop of Basel had to flee his diocesan see and established the capital of his principality in Porrentruy. This was however politically and confessionally divided: the southern lordships of his principality were bound by treaties of *combourgeoisie* with the canton of Berne and became Protestant, whereas the northern lordships remained Catholic, or were recatholicised at the end of the sixteenth century. Even though the bishop was also allied to the Swiss Confederation, as he had signed in 1579 an alliance with the Swiss Catholic cantons, only part of his principality belonged to the Confederation: the Northern lordships were considered Imperial ground, the Southern Swiss ground. A final internal border was linguistic: the bishop and his court spoke German, while the population of most lordships – including the capital – spoke French.[7]

6 See Lionel Bartolini, Princes catholiques en terre protestante: le gouvernement des Orléans-Longueville à Neuchâtel entre 1530 et 1551, in Bertrand Forclaz (ed.), *L'expérience de la différence religieuse dans l'Europe moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)*, Neuchâtel, 2013, 89–99; Jean-Daniel Morerod/Rémy Scheurer, Neuchâtel (canton), chapter 2.3, Formation de l'État et gouvernement sous les Orléans-Longueville, in: *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse* (*DHS*), version of 1 February 2011, www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F7397.php; Philippe Henry, *Le temps de la monarchie. Politique, religion et société de la Réforme à la Révolution de 1848* (*Histoire du canton de Neuchâtel*, vol. 2), Neuchâtel, 2013; in English, see Jeffrey R. Watt, *The Making of Modern Marriage: Matrimonial Control and the Rise of Sentiment in Neuchâtel, 1550–1800*, Ithaca, 1992.

7 See André Bandelier/Bernard Prongué (eds.), *Nouvelle histoire du Jura*, Porrentruy, 1984; Jean-Claude Rebetez et al., *Pro Deo: l'ancien évêché de Bâle du IVe au XVIe siècle*, Porrentruy, 2006; Philippe Froidevaux/Jean-Claude Rebetez, Bâle (évêché), chapter 2, Histoire moderne, in: *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse* (*DHS*), version of 10 September 2009, www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F8558.php.



Map 2: The bishopric of Basel *Note*: The map represents the situation in the eighteenth century, though there are few differences from the previous one. *Source*: Archives de l'Ancien Évêché de Bâle, Porrentruy (www.aaeb.ch).

During the Thirty Years War, the political borders that divided the bishopric had dramatic implications. The bishopric of Basel was partly occupied by the belligerents, due to the bishop's careless adherence to the Catholic *Liga*, the league of Catholic princes within the Holy Roman Empire, as well as to its strategic position next to theatres of operations such as Franche-Comté and Alsace; the Northern lordships were therefore occupied several times between the mid-1630s and the end of the war by French, Swedish and Imperial armies, whereas the bishopric was placed under French protection. The Southern lordships, on the other hand, were included in the Swiss neutrality and did not have to endure occupation, apart from a few raids. As for Neuchâtel, it was included in the Swiss neutrality as well; however, its ruler, Henri II d'Orléans-Longueville,

was one of Louis XIII's main officers, and he took part in the invasion of neighbouring Spanish Franche-Comté in the mid-1630s.[8]

Political and territorial identities

Let us now focus on political and territorial identities and examine which of them were mobilised during the war. The spatial dimension of identity will be considered. Since a territory is a space of belonging and appropriation, the awareness of borders can therefore create a sense of identity and otherness.[9] However, territorial identities can and do also cross or attenuate borders.

During the war, several first-person writings were authored in the Northern lordships of the bishopric of Basel. While they mostly deal with everyday life and the occupation, they also reveal identities, concerns, standpoints and hopes. First-person writings clearly stress the local belonging – a result hardly surprising for the early modern period, in which local identity was fundamental.[10] A notable from the lordship of Franches-Montagnes, Guillaume Triponez, mentions in his diary '*tous les hommes de notre Montagne*' or '*nos pauvres Montagnards*', referring to his fellow-countrymen, the inhabitants of the lordship.[11] Similar conclusions can be drawn from other documents such as letters: they refer to '*notre patrie bien-aimée*', intended as the village and possibly the lordship.[12] An intermedi-

8 See Pierre Surchat, L'Evêché de Bâle pendant la guerre de Trente ans, in: *1648: Belfort dans une Europe remodelée – 350e anniversaire des Traités de Westphalie. Actes du colloque de Belfort, 9–11 octobre 1998*, Belfort, 2000, 77–81; Alexandre Dafflon, Neutralité et appartenance au Corps helvétique: Neuchâtel à l'épreuve de la Guerre de Dix Ans, in: Jean-François Chanet/Christian Windler (eds.), *Les ressources des faibles. Neutralités, sauvegardes, accommodements en temps de guerre (XVIe–XVIIIe siècle)*, Rennes, 2009, 63–82; Bertrand Forclaz, Identités politiques et identités confessionnelles dans l'évêché de Bâle pendant la Guerre de Trente ans (1618–1648), in: Forclaz (ed.), *L'expérience de la différence religieuse*, 209–29. On the Swiss neutrality during the war, see André Holenstein, L'enjeu de la neutralité: les cantons suisses et la guerre de Trente Ans, in: Chanet/Windler (eds.), *Les ressources des faibles*, 47–61.

9 On the territory as a space of belonging and appropriation, see for example François Walter, *Les figures paysagères de la nation: territoire et paysage en Europe (16e–20e siècles)*, Paris, 2004.

10 See for example Axel Gotthard, *In der Ferne. Die Wahrnehmung des Raumes in der Vormoderne*, Frankfurt am Main, Campus, 2007.

11 Xavier Kohler (ed.), Les Suédois dans l'Evêché de Bâle. Journal de Guillaume Triponez, in: *Actes de la Société Jurassienne d'Emulation*, 28, 1884, 95–145.

12 See for example Archives d'Etat de Neuchâtel, Neuchâtel (AEN), Archives Anciennes, B 14/15, letter of the bailiff (*bailli*) of Erguël, Jacob Beynon, to David Favargier, general attorney (*procureur general*) of the county of Neuchâtel, 18 April 1639.

ate level between the local identity and larger territorial structures – in this case the bishopric – are the neighbouring regions and villages: the same letters show concern for the hardships endured by neighbouring communities and call God's protection upon them.[13]

Imperial identity in the bishopric of Basel

Sources from the bishopric of Basel also suggest the presence of two other identities which overlapped local identities: the sense of belonging to the Holy Roman Empire, on the one side, and to the Swiss Confederation on the other. As for Imperial identity, the bishopric of Basel kept close ties with the Empire. The bishop of Basel was a prince of the Holy Roman Empire throughout the early modern period, and the Northern lordships of the bishopric were subject to Imperial tribunals. Moreover, until 1648, the bishopric bordered on other territories of the Holy Roman Empire, Alsace to the north and the county of Montbéliard to the west. Part of the political and religious leaders of the bishopric came from the Empire, especially from Alsace: Johann Heinrich von Ostein, bishop between 1628 and 1646, belonged to an Alsatian noble family, and so did several canons of the episcopal chapter, members of the court and advisers to the bishop; others had studied in the Empire.[14]

The bishop shared this Imperial identity with other princes of the Holy Roman Empire: in 1622, the count of Montbéliard, a neighbouring Lutheran territory, wrote to the bishop of Basel about the state of the 'Roman Empire of the German Nation, our beloved fatherland'.[15] The Empire remained a common and supra-confessional reference for the political elites, despite the war: it is probable that the outbreak of the war reinforced this recourse to 'Imperial patriotism', as it was threatened by the conflict; the bishop of Basel himself referred to it in letters to local functionaries.[16]

13 AEN, Chancellerie I, 447, Missives 1629–1638, f. 212r, letter of mayor Thellung to François-Antoine de Neuchâtel-Gorgier, 15 February 1636.

14 See Catherine Bosshart-Pfluger, *Das Basler Domkapitel von seiner Übersiedlung nach Arlesheim bis zur Säkularisation: 1687–1803*, Basel, 1983.

15 '*Des römischen reichs theütscher Nation, unsers geliebten Vatterlandts*' (Archives de l'Ancien Evêché de Bâle, Porrentruy (AAEB), B 277/1, letter of Ludwig Friedrich of Würtemberg to the bishop of Basel, 21 January 1622). The same expression is used by another Protestant prince of the Empire, landgrave Moritz von Hessen-Kassel, in an undated letter from 1617 to the bishop of Basel: see AAEB, B 291/1.

16 See AAEB, B 291/1, mandate of 16 February 1625. On Imperial patriotism, see Alexander Schmidt, *Vaterlandsliebe und Religionskonflikt: politische Diskurse im Alten Reich (1555–1648)*, Leiden, 2007.

In the following years, however, it became increasingly difficult to support Imperial patriotism, as the war raged between the Emperor and the Catholic princes of the Empire on the one side, and the Protestant princes on the other. The elites of the bishopric of Basel showed a strong support for the Catholic camp – the bishop himself had joined the Catholic *Liga*, the coalition of Catholic princes. Some first-person writings illustrate this pro-Habsburg stance among the elites, especially the chronicle of the war written in the 1650s by Jesuit Claude Sudan (1579–1655). Sudan's biography is extremely significant of the 'transnational' trajectories and plural identities that were quite common in the early modern period: he came from the canton of Fribourg and was therefore a Swiss; he had become a Jesuit in Bavaria, had studied and taught at Jesuit universities in the Holy Roman Empire such as Dillingen and Ingolstadt, before moving back to Fribourg and then to Porrentruy, the capital of the bishopric of Basel, where he was the bishop's confessor from 1629 to 1646 – and therefore one of his close advisors.[17] Sudan's chronicle, probably written for publication yet unpublished until the late nineteenth century, stresses the Imperial and Catholic identity of the bishopric: he refers to the French and Swedish troops as the enemy, and brands Wallenstein a traitor.[18] He also claimed that God supported the Habsburgs:

> Who could overlook that supreme providence openly protects in a special way the Roman Empire and the House of Austria? With which opportunity and which magnificence has it not given such a desired successor to the Empire, before the Emperor was recalled to God?[19]

Political and confessional identities therefore overlap and reinforce one another, as is typical in the *Ancien Régime*. In line with this, Catholic clerics seem to have more or less actively defended the Imperial identity of the bishopric. In 1635, while the capital of the bishopric, Porrentruy, was occupied by French troops, allowing bishop von Ostein's escape, the French officers accused the Jesuits of the local college of conspiring with the Imperial army, the bishop and the Duke

17 See Urban Fink, Sudan, Claude, in: *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse* (*DHS*), translated from German, version of 8 December 2011, www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F25246.php.

18 Wallenstein was the supreme commander of the Imperial armies until his assassination in 1633: at that time, he was allegedly considering an alliance with the Protestant princes. See Joseph Trouillat (ed.), *Les Suédois dans l'évêché de Bâle… traduit sur l'original du père Sudan, S.J.*, Porrentruy, 1869, 22–5.

19 '*Qui pourrait méconnaître que la providence suprême protège ouvertement, d'une manière particulière, l'empire romain et la maison d'Autriche. Avec quelle opportunité et quelle magnificence n'a-t-elle pas pourvu à donner un successeur si désiré à l'empire, avant que l'empereur ne fut appelé au sein de Dieu*' (ibid., 122).

of Lorraine in order to take the city back – accusations that the Jesuits vehemently denied in their reports to Rome. And in 1640, in the market town of Saint-Ursanne, a French officer accused a secular priest of having prayed for the Emperor during mass.[20]

Whether true or not, these allegations point to the role possibly played by the clergy in reaffirming an Imperial identity threatened by occupation. Although this identity was mostly present among the political and religious elites of the bishopric, it also extended to part of the local elites: in his diary, Guillaume Triponez, the notable from the Franches-Montagnes quoted earlier, laments the death of Archduke Leopold of Austria, one of the main military leaders of the Habsburg camp, in 1627; a few years later, he deplores Imperial defeats. He also refers to the Swedish and French troops as the enemy.[21]

Did this Imperial identity extend to the lower social strata? It is likely that for the broader population being part of the Empire remained abstract – in the bishopric of Basel as in other Imperial territories. Moreover, a hypothetical sense of belonging to the Holy Roman Empire was possibly cancelled or at least put into question by the acts of violence committed by Imperial troops in the bishopric – Sudan himself, despite his staunch support for the Catholic side, blames the behaviour of the Imperial soldiers that occupied the bishopric.[22] Linguistic and cultural identities might also have mitigated this Imperial identity in the French-speaking part of the bishopric: Triponez, in his chronicle, when referring to Alsatian refugees present in the Franches-Montagnes, calls them '*Allemands*' and not fellow countrymen of the Empire.[23]

Swiss identity in the bishopric of Basel

While the sense of Imperial belonging was partial, abstract and ambiguous in the Northern lordships of the bishopric, 'Swiss' identity was more distinctive in its Southern lordships. Obviously, one has to be careful in order not to project national characterisations on the early modern period, especially in such a complex case as the Swiss Confederation, where territorial identities were

20 See Corinne Eschenlohr-Bombail (ed.), *Annales ou histoire du collège des jésuites de Porrentruy (1588–1771)*, Porrentruy, 1995, vol. 1, 243–75; Edouard Rott, *Histoire de la représentation diplomatique de la France auprès des cantons suisses, de leurs alliés et de leurs confédérés*, vol. 5, Berne, 1913, 434.

21 Kohler, Les Suédois, 98, 102.

22 Trouillat, *Les Suédois*, 43, 81s., 84s., 91, 97.

as fragmented as political structures and where the religious division created a deep split. However, a common identity, based on history, existed and survived despite the religious division in the sixteenth and at least partly in the seventeenth century.[24] The inhabitants of the bishopric of Basel were aware of this Swiss identity, as they frequently referred to '*la Suisse*'. In correspondences, statements of witnesses as well as first-person writings, inhabitants of the Northern lordships draw a boundary between their territory and the Southern lordships: when they refer to the latter, they call it '*la Suisse*'. For example, during a trial held in 1654, an inhabitant of a village of the Northern lordship of Ajoie stated that during the war he had been travelling towards Switzerland. In his statement, he said that fifteen or sixteen years earlier, 'he went towards Switzerland with a load for sale' and then named a few villages that belonged to the Southern lordships of the bishopric.[25] The sense of belonging to Switzerland is here defined from outside in a dialectical relationship between identity and otherness: local agents knew that a political border divided the bishopric. Did the religious division between the Catholic North and the Protestant South reinforce this political border, since the Swiss part of the bishopric roughly coincided with the Protestant territories? It is possible, although the 'Imperial' subjects of the bishopric inhabitants never added a denominational component to the label '*la Suisse*'. They also clearly identified the county of Neuchâtel as Swiss: an inhabitant of the capital of the bishopric, Porrentruy, wrote in his journal that his mother had died during the war 'in the county of Neuchâtel in Switzerland'; other 'Imperial' subjects mentioned in statements Neuchâtel as a part of the '*pays de Suisse*'.[26]

Other documents demonstrate that the inhabitants of the Southern lordships of the bishopric saw themselves as Swiss. For example, in 1645, the bailiff of the Southern lordship of Erguël, Jacob Beynon, asked the administration of the bish-

23 Kohler, Les Suédois, 101.

24 See Ulrich Im Hof, *Mythos Schweiz. Identität – Nation – Geschichte 1291–1991*, Zürich, 1991, 64–7; Thomas Maissen, Ein 'helvetisch Alpenvolck'. Die Formulierung eines gesamteidgenössischen Selbstverständnisses in der Schweizer Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts, in: Krzysztof Baczkowski/Christian Simon (eds.), *Historiographie in Polen und der Schweiz*, Kraków, 1994, 69–86. Recently, however, Thomas Lau has argued that two separate 'national' identities emerged in the seventeenth century, the one Protestant and the other Catholic: see Thomas Lau, *'Stiefbrüder'. Nation und Konfession in der Schweiz und in Europa (1656–1712)*, Köln, 2008.

25 '*il alloit contre la Suisse avec une charge pour revendre*' (AAEB, B 138/50, statement of Jean Perrin Chougean, 8 May 1654).

26 '*dans le comté de Neuchatel en Suisse*' (Bibliothèque cantonale jurassienne, Porrentruy, MS. 2727, f. 2; AAEB, B 173/26, statement of Henry Barberat, 6 June 1649).

opric for a patent proving that the villages of Erguël were under protection of the thirteen cantons. In another letter to an officer of the Imperial army that occupied the neighbouring Franches-Montagnes, Beynon described the inhabitants of Erguël as 'close allies and confederates of the *Corps de la Suisse*', while he referred in a third letter to the villages and their inhabitants as '*suisses*'.[27] These terms are particularly interesting as they show that the knowledge of political labels spread among local elites: the expression '*Corps de la Suisse*' clearly refers to the name of '*Corps helvétique*' then in use for the Confederation, which had been coined by French diplomats in the sixteenth century.[28] Also very significant is a conversation between Beynon's predecessor and a French officer, a few years earlier: 'the subjects of Erguël do not recognize the French king's protection, and although they submit to the bishop of Basel as their sovereign lord, they are true Swiss who respect the king as their ally and not as their protector'.[29]

Since the lordship of Erguël belonged to the Swiss part of the bishopric, it was not included in the territory that fell under French protection in the mid-1630s. It is therefore clear that this Swiss identity was mobilised in a context of uncertainty: as Erguël bordered on territories that suffered several periods of occupation and were under French protection, it was important for the local officers to stress that Erguël was included in Swiss neutrality and could not be occupied, raided or taxed. However, the expressions used also testify to the awareness of political alliances and to the existence of a Swiss patriotism in the Southern part of the bishopric.

Swiss identity was also instrumental to the autonomy the Southern lordships enjoyed in relation to their ruler. The bishop and his advisors knew this very well: a few years earlier, the vicar general of the diocese, Thomas Henrici, wrote down after a pastoral visit that a Catholic village of the Southern lordship of Moutier-Grandval, as it was allied to the canton of Bern by a treaty of *combourgeoisie*, was mostly insubordinate in spiritual and temporal matters.[30] It

27 '*eytroitemant allies et confederes*' (AAEB, B 187/70, letters of Jacob Beynon to the chancellor of the bishop of Basel, 13 February 1645, to Jean-Jacques Grandvillard, 28 December 1644, and to Lieutenant Colonel Charles de Puchler, 27 December 1644).

28 See Wilhelm Oechsli, Die Benennungen der alten Eidgenossenschaft und ihrer Glieder, in: *Jahrbuch für schweizerische Geschichte*, 41, 1916, 51–230; 42, 1917, 87–258.

29 '*Les sujets d'Erguel ne reconnaissent pas la protection du roi de France, et quoique soumis à l'évêque de Bâle comme à leur souverain seigneur, ce sont de vrais suisses qui respectent le roi comme leur allié et non comme leur protecteur*' (Trouillat, *Les Suédois dans l'Evêché de Bâle*, 131).

30 Thomas Henrici, *Le journal raisonné d'un vicaire général de l'évêché de Bâle pendant la première moitié du XVII^e siècle*, ed. Jean-Pierre Renard, Fribourg, 2007, 200.

is also possible that the war widened the gap between the bishop and his Swiss subjects: a few inquiries were set up against inhabitants of some villages for calling the bishop of Basel a 'traitor' or claiming that he wasn't able to defend his country.[31] It is likely that they were referring to his leaving his capital and taking refuge in castles that he owned far from the occupied areas of the bishopric: possibly, they also condemned his alignment with the emperor and the Catholic side from the beginning of the war, as it had provoked the occupation of the bishopric. First-person writings could give us more insight into this question: unfortunately, they appear to be lacking for the Swiss part of the bishopric.

The Northern lordships of the bishopric: Imperial yet Swiss?

We should be careful not to over-emphasize the political border that divided the bishopric: in reality, the Northern lordships were not fully devoid of a Swiss identity, even though it was definitely weaker than in the Southern part of the bishopric, mainly because of the tighter grip held by the bishop on these territories in the seventeenth century. In 1555, during a time of political weakness of the bishop, two Imperial lordships had concluded a *combourgeoisie* with the Protestant canton of Basel, yet bishop Jakob Christoph Blarer von Wartensee, who restored episcopal authority in the bishopric during the last quarter of the sixteenth century, had them rescinded in 1585.[32] At the same time, Blarer von Wartensee, himself a Swiss, as he belonged to a family from Sankt Gallen, entered an alliance with the Catholic cantons in 1579, which proved instrumental to the recatholicisation of some Protestant territories of the bishopric. Blarer and his successors as well as their advisors held close contact with the political elites of the Catholic cantons, especially neighbouring Solothurn. The cantons sent political and military advisors to the bishop during the war and undertook diplomatic missions on his behalf to the French king during the occupation.[33] The letters exchanged by the bishop and the magistrates of the Catholic cantons

31 AAEB, Procédures criminelles Erguël 1636–1640, information against Georges Othenin, 12 May 1637; AAEB, Procédures criminelles Moutier-Grandval, information against David Jont, 27 February 1645.

32 See Nicolas Barras, Les combourgeoisies dans l'Evêché de Bâle, in: Clément Crevoisier (ed.), *Atlas historique du Jura*, Porrentruy, 2012, 144–51. On Blarer von Wartensee, see André Chèvre, *Jacques-Christophe Blarer de Wartensee: prince-évêque de Bâle*, Delémont, 1963.

33 See AAEB, B 119/9, 10 and 11.

testify to a common political identity – they address each other as 'truthful dear allies' ('*getrüwen lieben pundtsgnossen*').[34] Other contacts existed between the religious elites: some of the Jesuits that taught at the college in Porrentruy came from Swiss cantons, such as Claude Sudan, Bishop von Ostein's confessor, who was born in Fribourg. As for the subjects of the Imperial lordships, farmers periodically went to Swiss neighbouring cities such as Bienne or Neuchâtel, in order to sell cattle and agricultural products and to buy wine. And during the war, inhabitants of the Imperial part of the bishopric took refuge in its Swiss territory.[35]

Despite these contacts, however, the position of the bishop and of political and religious elites towards the Swiss Confederation was ambivalent, clearly because of the threat the *combourgeoisies* represented for the bishop's authority and possibly for Catholicism. During the occupation, Bishop Johan Heinrich von Ostein instructed one of his advisors to answer evasively in case the delegates of Solothurn proposed that the bishopric be formally incorporated in the Confederation as an associate member at a gathering of the Federal Diet – among the reasons for this half-heartedness was certainly the difficulty of reconciling the membership with belonging to the Holy Roman Empire, as well as the religious division of the Confederation and the recurring conflicts between the bishop and his neighbour, the canton of Berne.[36] This scepticism towards the Swiss Confederation is also confirmed by some chronicles: the Jesuit Sudan, in his history of the war, sarcastically writes that the delegates of the Swiss cantons sent to Porrentruy claimed that they would restore peace, but that 'all these words … turned into smoke'.[37]

However, it would be misleading to conclude that scepticism towards the Confederation was general in the Northern part of the bishopric. Some evidence suggests that among the local notables, the *combourgeoisie* treaties of the Southern lordships with Berne and the security they brought were looked upon with favour; furthermore, they possibly remembered the alliances of the mid-sixteenth century and the autonomy they had brought. In the late 1630s,

34 See for example AAEB, B 277/1, letter of the bishop to the *Schultheiss* of Solothurn, 14 April 1620.

35 See Bertrand Forclaz, Solidarités supraconfessionnelles. Réfugiés dans l'arc jurassien pendant la Guerre de Trente Ans (1618–1648), in: *Revue suisse d'histoire*, 62, 2012, 3, 373–89.

36 See AAEB, B 277/12, instruction of the bishop to Dr Schöttlin, 17 August 1641.

37 '*toutes ces paroles … s'en allèrent en fumée*' (Trouillat, *Les Suédois dans l'Evêché de Bâle*, 63).

some notables of the Franches-Montagnes, one of the Imperial lordships, were investigated for not having transmitted orders given by the bishop to the population. Soon, the scope of the inquiry widened, as it appeared that they were reluctant to pay the bishop money they owned him, probably on account of taxes or management of his land. Some of the defendants were even accused of having 'sold the country to the Bernese' and of having claimed they would prefer being under Bernese dominion rather than having to pay the French occupation troops.[38] It is likely that they had gathered information concerning the protection Berne gave to the Southern lordships through their contacts with inhabitants of the latter. Indeed, inhabitants of the neighbouring lordship of Erguël cultivated lands or pastured animals in the Franches-Montagnes; moreover, during the war, these contacts intensified, as several inhabitants of the Franches-Montagnes took refuge in Erguël or the other Southern lordships.[39]

A few years later, the Abbot of Bellelay also tried to put his abbey under Bernese protection. The Premonstratensian abbey of Bellelay, which possessed a small lordship, was located on the border between the Northern and the Southern lordships and belonged to the Imperial part of the bishopric. After the Reformation, it had rescinded its *combourgeoisie* with Berne and only kept one with the Catholic canton of Solothurn, which protected it from occupation by the Swedish and French armies. However, in 1646, Abbot Jean-Pierre Cuenat tried to revive the *combourgeoisie* with Berne. The bishop took action and wrote to the Bernese authorities in order to stop this from happening, as he recalled his temporal and spiritual authority over the abbey.[40] In Cuenat's case, we are better informed concerning the background of these political manoeuvres: there was a conflict between the abbot and the bishop regarding ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the previous year, the vicar general of the diocese had written to the Roman Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* that Abbot Cuenat kept suspicious contacts with Protestant preachers, and that the risk existed that Berne would take the abbey under its protection.[41] Cuenat's household book testifies to some of this: the abbey rented out its lands to Protestant farmers; furthermore, as the abbey had kept the right to nominate some preachers in parishes that had accepted the

38 AAEB, Procédures criminelles Franches-Montagnes 1635–1660, information against Antoine Brossart and others, 17/27 February 1638.

39 See Forclaz, Identités politiques, 224.

40 AAEB, B 16/7, f. 100, letter of Jean-Henri d'Ostein, Bishop of Basel, 1 October 1646.

41 Archivio storico della Congregazione de Propaganda fide, Città del Vaticano, Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni generali, vol. 91, Svizzera (1645), f. 451r/v, 541, 254r/v, 267r.

Reformation, one of these preachers, when he left his parish a few years later, claimed to be a 'truthful' servant to Cuenat.[42] In this case, crossing political borders hence seems to have gone together with ignoring confessional boundaries.

Neuchâtel: a Swiss and a French identity?

Even though the county of Neuchâtel was not divided by internal borders, it also had ambiguous political and territorial identities, and the local authorities managed to use these ambiguities. There was first of all a Swiss identity, which was based on the *combourgeoisie* treaty with Berne and other Swiss cantons, but also on the difficult relationship between the burghers of Neuchâtel and their count. The burghers enjoyed a large degree of autonomy with regard to the Orléans-Longueville family and used their powerful ally, the canton of Berne, against their count: the *combourgeoisie* treaty with Berne foresaw that the canton be the arbiter of conflicts between the count and his subjects. At the end of the sixteenth century, however, the successive rulers of Neuchâtel had been able to curb their burghers' autonomy and to limit Bernese influence in the county. Henri II of Orléans-Longueville, upon becoming the ruling count in 1617, quickly came into conflict with the burghers of Neuchâtel, who then resorted to Bernese arbitration. Berne, as was to be expected, pronounced for the burghers, and due to the failure of Henri's attempts to gain support of the Swiss Catholic cantons and of Louis XIII, he had no other choice but to accept the sentence.[43] In the following years, Henri II considered selling the county, but he gave up that plan.

This setback and Henri II's personal involvement in the war reinforced Neuchâtel's Swiss identity, and the count himself came to value it. In the 1630s, the situation of the county became dangerous when Henri II, as one of Louis XIII's main commanders, played a key role in the French attacks against neighbouring Franche-Comté, a possession of the Spanish Habsburgs, violating its neutrality.[44]

42 AAEB, B 133/50, f. 14, 109, 178, 179, 204.

43 See Jean Hurny, *Le procès de 1618: différend entre le prince Henri II d'Orléans-Longueville, les bourgeois de Neuchâtel et les Bernois*, Neuchâtel, 1910; Dafflon, Neutralité et appartenance.

44 On the war in Franche-Comté, see Gérard Louis, *La guerre de Dix ans, 1634–1644*, Paris, 1998; concerning Franche-Comté's neutrality, see Christian Windler, De la neutralité à la relation tributaire: la Franche-Comté, le duché de Bourgogne et le royaume de France aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles, in: Chanet/Windler (eds.), *Les ressources des faibles*, 163–85.

For the county, the alliance with Switzerland proved to be a precious asset, as it was considered neutral in the following years and was therefore spared occupation by the belligerents, despite a few forays. Local officers repeatedly played the Swiss card: a member of the Council of State of Neuchâtel, in a letter to an Imperial officer stationed in the neighbouring bishopric of Basel, mentioned the neutrality of the county in order to prevent any incursion.[45] And as inhabitants of Franche-Comté committed thefts in the county, another officer of Neuchâtel, when writing to a magistrate of Franche-Comté, announced that the Council of State would seek the assistance of the cantons, based on its alliance with them.[46]

Next to this Swiss identity, however, Neuchâtel also had special ties with France, due to its subjection to a French prince: the members of the Council of State and other officers periodically visited their ruler in France, and a French influence was present in the county. Furthermore, many members of the elites served France as military officers. This connection with France also proved useful during the war. In 1634, for example, the Council of State insisted on the proximity between the Duke of Longueville and the French king in a letter to the *Rheingraf*, general of the Swedish army, in order to dissuade him from any raid in the county.[47] And a few years later, when the Council of State wrote to a French military commander on behalf of an inhabitant of the bishopric of Basel, it recalled that the county was 'allied to the very Christian king and even under a French prince'.[48]

A first-person text shows how these distinct identities could coexist in one person: Abraham Chaillet (1606–85), Mayor of La Côte, a jurisdiction close to the city of Neuchâtel, wrote a *Mémoire des choses remarquables* that spans most of his lifetime, from 1614 to 1673. Chaillet belonged to a wealthy patrician family, which included several preachers, military officers in France and magistrates.[49] Chaillet's biographic trajectory is significant of Neuchâtel's integration into the Protestant part of the Swiss Confederation: in his youth, he spent a few years in Basel, to learn German, and then in Lausanne, which was subject

45 AEN, Chancellerie I, AC 449, f. 23v, letter of Hugues Tribolet to colonel Fleckenstein, undated.

46 Ibid., f. 8r, letter of David Favarger to M. Bigeot, 39 July 1644.

47 AEN, Chancellerie I, AC 447, f. 115, letter of the Council of State to the Rheingraf, 15 March 1634.

48 '*allié du Roy tres chrestien voyre sous un prince françois*' (ibid., f. 232v/233r, letter of the Concuil of State to Marquis de Grancey, undated, but probably 1636).

49 On his family, see Myriam Volorio Perriard, Chaillet, in: *Dictionnaire historique de la Suisse* (*DHS*), version of 13 July 2005, www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/textes/f/F22371.php.

to Berne, to be educated. His chronicle reveals a Swiss and a Protestant identity, as well as his loyalty to the Count of Neuchâtel. During the war, he shows his concern for political events in the Confederation, referring to the Catholic cantons as '*cantons papistes*'. He also thoroughly mentions the days of prayer and fast that took place during the war in the Reformed territories of '*la Suisse*'. Next to this Swiss Reformed identity, Chaillet also demonstrates his solidarity with the Protestant camp, despite Neuchâtel's neutrality, as well as his loyalty to his prince, Henri II. He toasted the ambassador of the Swedish king when the latter stopped in Neuchâtel in 1633 and, a few years later, he praised Bernhard of Saxe-Weimar, a Lutheran prince who had served Sweden then France against the Habsburg camp. At the same time, however, Chaillet criticises the French attack on neighbouring Franche-Comté and describes the 'misery' of the inhabitants of the bishopric of Basel under French and Swedish occupation: regional solidarities could put into question political and confessional affiliations. As for Neuchâtel's Swiss identity, as we can grasp it in Chaillet's chronicle, it was interconfessional: Chaillet, throughout his life, kept friendly relationships with Catholic patricians of Solothurn and Fribourg, two allied cantons of the county.[50]

Conclusion

In both cases, we observe multiple identities that are related to a position at, or even across, political and religious borders, and to a situation of political ambiguity. This is especially the case for the bishopric of Basel, where the war also seems to have put into question the existing territorial identities – making 'turning Swiss' a desirable option for local elites. But 'turning Swiss' was to become a preference for the political leaders of both states: the war reinforced the Swiss influence in Neuchâtel and the ties with the Swiss Confederation in the bishopric, as both the Bishop of Basel and the Count of Neuchâtel tried to have their state integrated into the Confederation as cantons in the early 1650s.[51] This attempt was

50 Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Neuchâtel (BPU), MS. A 580. On Chaillet's *Mémoire*, see Bertrand Forclaz, Un monde de papier: le Mémoire d'Abraham Chaillet (1614–1673), in: *Traverse. Revue d'histoire*, 2, 2013, 139–48.

51 See Rémy Scheurer, Henri d'Orléans-Longueville, les Suisses et le comté de Neuchâtel à la fin de la guerre de Trente Ans, in: Marco Jorio (ed.), *1648, die Schweiz und Europa: Aussenpolitik zur Zeit des Westfälischen Friedens. Tagung auf Schloss Wildegg vom 26. März 1998*, Zürich, 1999, 99–109.

unsuccessful, due to the confessional division of the Confederation, but also to the unwillingness of Berne – for Neuchâtel – and of the Catholic cantons – for the bishopric of Basel – to share their special alliance with other cantons. In the long term, however, both territories followed different paths: Neuchâtel, which chose the king of Prussia as its ruler in 1707 after the extinction of the Orléans-Longueville, reinforced its links with Berne and tried to be recognized as part of the Swiss Confederation throughout the eighteenth century – it was to become a Swiss canton in 1815. The bishopric of Basel, on the other hand, grew apart from Switzerland in the eighteenth century: in 1735, the bishop chose not to renew his alliance with the Catholic cantons and concluded instead an alliance with France. In 1815, it became part of the canton of Berne. Interestingly, in the long term, a political border surfaced again in the former bishopric: in 1974/75, its Northern districts chose to form a separate canton, the canton of Jura, while the Southern districts decided to stay in the canton of Berne. For the bishopric of Basel, 'turning Swiss' proved to be quite a delicate and intricate matter.

Both cases are interesting at a more general level: they demonstrate the complex relationship between political and confessional identities. The elites of the bishopric and of the county supported respectively the Habsburg and the Protestant camp. However, supra-confessional solidarities existed, showing that religious affiliation could be put aside in everyday life interactions – a conclusion that confirms recent research on the topics of religious coexistence in early modern Europe.[52] The war also put into questions affiliations with one or the other camp, as individuals discovered that, in practice, both sides gave themselves to the plundering and killing of civilians.

Finally, this study shows how intertwined 'domestic' and 'international' policies were in the *Ancien Régime* – or rather how these categories do not fit well with the early modern period: where should we put *combourgeoisie* treaties, for example, and the alliances between cantons and associate members of the Swiss Confederation? If we should revisit our categories, we should also take into consideration the plurality of the political actors involved – not only rulers and members of city councils, but also local notables and abbots. In this case as in so many others, the population at large was aware of, and contributed to shaping and negotiating, borders and border identities.

52 See for example Scott Dixon/Dagmar Freist/Mark Greengrass (eds.), *Living with Religious Diversity in Early-Modern Europe*, Aldershot, 2009; Forclaz (ed.), *L'expérience de la différence religieuse*.

Brecht Deseure

Regional Memory in an Age of Centralization

French Identity Politics in Brabant

In the history of the relations between nation and region in the West, no country has a more prominent position than France.[1] Considered to be the birthplace of the modern, unified nation state, the country's uneasy relationship with its regions is legendary.[2] Ever since the French Revolution the French state has been portrayed as the epitome of political unification and administrative centralization. For almost two hundred years regions have only existed unofficially in France, never gaining any political or administrative recognition. Despite intense regionalist pressure during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, decentralization was not considered a serious option until the last decades of the twentieth century.[3]

The root of this 'French-Napoleonic' state tradition, as it has been called, lies in 1789.[4] The revolutionary leaders created modern France by abolishing feudalism. From old regime monarchical absolutism they borrowed the concept of the indivisibility of sovereignty.[5] With sovereignty transferred from the monarch to the people, national unification became a prime concern for the revolutionaries. The 'One and Indivisible Republic', as they called it, was to rest on a uniform and centralized political system free of privileges and particularism.[6]

1 Thomas O. Hueglin, Regionalism in Europe: conceptual problems of a new political perspective, in: *Comparative Politics* 18, 4, 1986, 441.

2 Jaques Revel, La région, in: Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 3 *La nation*, 1, Paris, 1992, 851.

3 Maurice Agulhon, Conscience nationale et conscience régionale en France de 1815 à nos jours, in: Johan C. Boogman/G.N. van der Plaat (eds.), *Federalism. History and Current Significance of a Form of Government*, The Hague, 1980, 243–266; Vivien A. Schmidt, *Democratizing France. The political and administrative history of decentralization*, Cambridge, 1990, ix.

4 John Loughlin/Guy Peters, State traditions, administrative reform and regionalization, in: Michael Keaton/John Loughlin (eds.), *The Political Economy of Regionalism*, London, 1997, 41–62.

5 Jack E.S. Hayward, *Governing France: The One and Indivisible Republic*, London, 1983, 6; Colin Flint/Peter J. Taylor, *Political Geography: World-economy, Nation-state and Locality*, Harlow, 2007, 161.

6 Hayward, *Governing France*, 7.

In contrast to all early modern republics, which had been federal, the French Republic was conceived of as unitary, so as to guarantee the unhindered exercise of popular sovereignty.[7]

In fact, 'federalism' became a political term of abuse carrying notions of reaction and anarchism. It was efficiently (yet wrongfully) used by the Montagnard faction in the National Assembly to discredit the political project of its prime opponent, the Girondins.[8] When departmental administrations in the former provinces of Normandy and Brittany rose against the influence of the militant Paris Commune on national policy in 1793, their political adversaries likewise dubbed the protest a 'federalist revolt', thus undermining its political credibility.[9] From the very beginning, and out of a concern to preserve national unity, the architects of modern France sought to eliminate regionalism as a political force.[10]

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the new territorial division of France established in the early revolution. Already in the famous National Constituent Assembly's session of 4 August 1789, the so-called *nuit des sacrifices*, in which the three orders jointly abolished feudalism, the dismantlement of the kingdom's old provinces was decided.[11] The deputies' most urgent concern was to reconfigure national territory in a rational and egalitarian fashion so as to create a geographical basis for the new system of political representation.[12] At the same time the territorial reform was driven by a desire to have a *tabula rasa* with respect to the arbitrary territorial particularities of the old regime and to promote national unity.[13]

The former provinces were indeed perceived as dangerous repositories of particularism and as a threat to unity. The abbé Sieyès, deviser of the new territorial division plan, stated that effacing the limits of the old provinces was

7 Ibid., 52.

8 A. Goodwin, A comparative study of regionalism in politics in Lancashire and Normandy during the French Revolution, in: *Annales de la Normandie* 8, 2, 1958, 236; Mona Ozouf, La Révolution française et la perception de l'espace national: fédérations, fédéralisme et stéréotypes régionaux', in: Johan C. Boogman/G.N. van der Plaat (eds.), *Federalism : History and Current Significance of a Form of Government*, The Hague, 1980, 230.

9 Revel, La région, 868.

10 However, decentralization was not altogether absent from Jacobin thought. See: Agulhon, Conscience nationale, 249; Hayward, *Governing France*, 21; Loughlin/Peters, State traditions, 47; Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier, *La formation des départements. La représentation du territoire français à la fin du 18e siècle*, Paris, 1992, 103.

11 Ozouf-Marignier, *La formation*, 31; Revel, La région, 864.

12 Ozouf-Marignier, *La formation*, 37; Marcel Roncayolo, Le département, in: Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 3 *La nation*, 1, Paris, 1992, 887.

13 Ozouf, La Révolution française, 222.

the only means to destroy the local privileges and to unify all the peoples and parties of France into one nation.[14] The new spatial units composing France were deliberately made too small and too numerous to nourish any feelings of separatism or regionalism. The country henceforward counted eighty-three departments of similar surface, evenly distributed over the territory. Their names were derived from accidental natural features like rivers and mountains so as to disclaim any historical reference.[15] Their delineation was designed on rational grounds, allowing each inhabitant to reach the department's capital in one day's travel.[16] As uniform political and administrative entities, themselves composed of *arrondissements*, cantons and communes, they guaranteed a smooth flow of national policy from the political centre down to the local level.[17]

Under Napoleonic rule the centralist quality of the departments was enhanced by the establishment of the prefects, 'mini-emperors' who acted as the central government's agents in the departments.[18] Despite heavy criticism for its alleged artificial character, the department has continued to serve as the political and administrative basic unit of the French state all through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. National unification was further pursued by cultural and educational means such as the promotion of French over regional languages, the construction of a unified historical French narrative and the dissemination of a patriotic discourse via primary school textbooks.[19]

And yet, in spite of all this, the idea of a ruthless imposition of national identity at the expense of regional identities turns out to be no more than a myth. As various authors have shown, France has never been as united as the patriotic discourse suggests.[20] In his classical book *Peasants into Frenchmen*, Eu-

14 Cited in: Revel, La région, 864.
15 Agulhon, Conscience nationale, 250.
16 Roncayolo, Le département, 888.
17 Hayward, *Governing France*, 23; Dominique Turpin, Provinces et départements, in: Jacques Moreau/Michel Verpeaux (eds.), *Révolution et décentralisation. Le système administratif français et les principes révolutionnaires de 1789*, Paris, 1992, 202.
18 Paul Bernard, *L'Etat et le décentralisation. Du préfet au commissaire de la République*, Paris, 1983, 33.
19 Flint/Taylor, *Political Geography*, 162; C. Ford, *Creating the Nation in Provincial France: Religion and Political Identity in Brittany*, Princeton, 1993, 13; Anne-Marie Thiesse, *Ils apprenaient le France. L'exaltation des régions dans le discours patriotique*, Paris, 1997.
20 Ford, *Creating the Nation*; Hayward, *Governing France*; Douglas Johnson, The making of the French nation, in: Mikulas Teich/Roy Porter (eds.), *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, Cambridge, 1993, 35–62; Revel, La région, 853; Peter Wagstaff, Regionalism in France, in: *idem* (ed.), *Regionalism in the European Union*, Exeter/Portland, 1999, 50; Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*, Stanford, 1976.

gen Weber states: 'the fact is, the French fuss so much about the nation because it is a living problem, became one when they set up the nation as an ideal, remained one because they found they could not realise the ideal'.[21] An array of fault lines of political, social, geographical and linguistic nature has divided French society from the very beginning. National policy-makers have been acutely aware of this.[22] Moreover, the implementation of national policies was often negotiated on the local or departmental level, thus furthering adaptation to the local context.[23]

Over the last decades much scholarly attention has been devoted to the persistence of regional diversity and identities in modern France. Not coincidently, the bulk of this work dates from after the first major decentralizing reforms in the history of the French state, introduced on the initiative of newly elected President François Mitterrand in 1982.[24] As it turned out, national unity and regional pride were not as antithetical as has long been supposed. Anne-Marie Thiesse has shown that the construction of French national identity during the Third Republic did not happen at the expense of regional identities but actually fed upon the latter.[25] The promoters of national unity emphasized the regional diversity of France instead of downplaying it so as to illustrate the richness of French culture. Several studies on the cultural integration of (often peripheral) French regions during the same era have likewise shown that national and regional identities were not incompatible but actually developed through mutual interaction, often reinforcing each other in the process.[26] Centralization and unification proved perfectly compatible with the promotion of the idea of France as a mosaic of culturally specific regions.

The bulk of scholarly work on the relation between nation and region concentrates on the Third Republic, a period of intense campaigning for national unity. In this chapter, the inquiry will be taken back in time, to the period which, in the words of Jacques Revel, 'invented the regional problem'.[27] The French Revolution's reputation as the fountainhead of unification and central-

21 Weber, *Peasants*, 112.
22 Ozouf, La Révolution française, 233.
23 Hayward, *Governing France*, 23.
24 Schmidt, *Democratizing France*, 105–37.
25 Thiesse, *Ils apprenaient*.
26 Timothy Baycroft, *Culture, Identity and Nationalism: French Flanders in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Suffolk/Rochester, 2004; Ford, *Creating the Nation*; Peter M. Jones, *Politics and Rural Society: The Southern Massif Central c.1750–1880*, Cambridge, 1985.
27 Revel, La région, 873.

ization in modern France as yet goes relatively unchallenged. Few authors have looked into the ambiguities of the revolutionary project of creating national unity. Marie-Vic Ozouf-Marignier has drawn attention to the often overlooked decentralizing aspects of the revolutionary rearrangement of the French territory in 1789, stressing the influence of regionalist forces in the Assembly on the final project.[28] Mona Ozouf has used administrative reports on the *esprit public* to draw attention to the republican administrators' acute awareness of the lack of real national unity in the decade following the introduction of the departmental system.[29] The picture arising from these documents is one of an everything but united people, deeply ridden by internal divisions and endlessly diverse in its local and regional particularities. Ozouf describes the administrators' fascinated observations as an 'ethnological awakening', disclaiming any success for the politics of *tabula rasa*. Jacques Revel confirmed this picture of an '*exotisme de l'intérieur*', an understanding of internal diversity only to be made sense of in an anthropological perspective.[30]

As will be argued in this chapter, traces of old regime regional identities lived on in an even more forthright manner in the discourse of republican administrators themselves. The case of the Duchy of Brabant is especially illustrative in this respect. Both politically and geographically, Brabant was peripheral to the French Republic. It officially joined France on 1 October 1795, with the annexation of the former Austrian Netherlands, henceforward known as the *départements réunis*, to the French Republic. However, it had already been occupied twice in the course of French–Austrian rivalry during the War of the First Coalition (1792–97): in 1792–93 and 1794–95. In August 1795 the former duchy's territory was divided into two departments, named after their principal waterways: Deux-Nèthes and Dyle, with Antwerp and Brussels as their respective capitals.

The administrators sent in from France or recruited locally to organize and govern the new territories actively campaigned to rally the inhabitants to the French cause. In speeches, proclamations and ceremonial deeds they professed the revolutionary values and tried to convince the people of the superiority of these over old regime ones. Given the fact that the occupation of Brabant was the result of military conquest, and given the conservative reputation of its in-

28 Ozouf-Marignier, *La formation*, 89.
29 Ozouf, La Révolution française.
30 Revel, La région, 851.

habitants, such campaigning was much-needed.[31] It is these texts that will stand central to the present analysis.[32] Traditionally the discourse of the representatives of the French regime in the *départements réunis* has been considered abstract and alien to the local context.[33] Antwerp historian Jozef Staes in his 1893 book on the revolutionary period typically described the republican officials' speeches as 'bombastic orations' that completely went over the people's heads.[34] Reality, however, was different. A detailed study of the discourse involved shows that it was neither as abstract nor as unconcerned with local issues as has often been supposed. In fact, French officials purposefully integrated elements of local history and identity in their messages so as to make them recognisable to the public. In the case of Brabant, officials subtly played upon sentiments of regional memory in their audience.

These findings run counter to an extensive body of traditional Belgian historiography on 'the French period'. In these often patriotically biased works the relation between the inhabitants of the *départements réunis* and their French rulers is presented as antithetical. With a view to presenting the French regime as a brutal occupation, and thus implicitly legitimizing Belgian independence, their authors systematically stressed the difference between Frenchmen and Belgians while downplaying any evidence of rapprochement or collaboration.[35] Thus, the period of French domination was presented as an essentially foreign affair. Belgian patriotic historiography did not differ in this from its counterparts in other European countries that have experienced French occupation. The Netherlands are a case in point. Far into the twentieth century, the era of the Batavian Republic has remained poorly studied because of its alleged un-Dutch character.[36]

31 Patricia Chastain Howe, *Foreign Policy and the French Revolution: Charles-François Dumouriez, Pierre LeBrun, and the Belgian Plan, 1789–1793*, New York, 2008, 159; Suzanne Tassier, *Histoire de la Belgique sous l'occupation française*, Brussels, 1934, 316.

32 The core of the source material is a body of eighty-nine speeches made by thirty-eight different administrators on sixty-six different occasions in Antwerp and Brussels between 1792 and 1799. These have been supplemented with proclamations, records of the meetings of the Jacobin clubs, files concerning the organisation of public ceremonial, descriptions of the latter and local chronicles. See: Brecht Deseure, *Een bruikbaar verleden. Geschiedenispolitiek tijdens de Franse periode*, PhD thesis, University of Antwerp, 2011.

33 Michael Rapport, Belgium under French occupation: between collaboration and resistance, July 1794 to October 1795, in: *French History* 16, 1, 2002, 55.

34 Jozef Staes, *De sansculotten te Antwerpen*, Antwerp, 1893, 78.

35 Marie-Rose Thielemans, Les historiens belges et la période française, in: Hervé Hasquin (ed.), *La Belgique française, 1792–1815*, Brussels, 1993, 437–58.

36 Annie Jourdan, *La Révolution batave entre la France et l'Amérique (1795–1806)*, Rennes, 2008, 16; Simon Schama, *Patriots and Liberators: Revolution in the Netherlands, 1780–1813,* New York, 1977, 23.

Only very recently have these national frames of references started to disintegrate. Historians are gradually adopting a more nuanced perspective, showing attention to processes of interaction and interchange. The focus has shifted from coercion and top-down domination, to the different ways in which both parties experienced, reacted to and influenced each other.[37] A much more neutral concept like 'transfer' had proven its value in the case of the Batavian Republic, which has witnessed a renewed interest over recent years, and also the German territories.[38] Other regions enjoy similar initiatives. Marc Lerner has discussed the ways in which conceptions of liberty were negotiated during the French occupation of the Swiss cantons.[39] Michael Rapport has shown how the harsh occupational regime in Belgium between 1794 and 1795 generated subtle ways of cooperation between French officials and local inhabitants.[40] As the present analysis aims to show, this post-national perspective also brings to light the persistence of regional elements in official republican discourse.

Liberties or liberty?

On 6 November 1792 the French republican armies won a decisive victory over Austria in the Battle of Jemappes, allowing them to take possession of the Southern Netherlands. This amalgam of provinces on the northern border of France, forming the southern remainder of the Burgundian *Kreis* of the Holy Roman Empire, had been governed by the Austrian Habsburgs since 1715. Its strategic geographic position and its vulnerable isolation from the Austrian heartland made it an evident target for the French Republic, which had re-

37 Daniel Schönpflug, So far, and yet so near: comparison, transfer and memory in recent German books on the age of the French Revolution and Napoleon, in: *French History* 18, 4, 2004, 450.

38 Michel Espagne/Michael Werner, *Transferts: les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand*, Paris, 1988; Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink/Rolf Reichardt (eds.), *Kulturtransfer in Epochenumbruch. Frankreich-Deutschland 1770–1815*, Leipzig, 1997; Annie Jourdan, Politieke en culturele transfers in een tijd van revolutie, in: *Low Countries Historical Review* 124, 4, 2009, 559–77; Rolf Reichardt, Die Französische Revolution und Deutschland. Thesen für einen komparatistischen, kulturhistorischen Neuansatz, in: Karl-Otmar Freiherr von Aretin/Karl Härter (eds.), *Revolution und konservatives Beharren. Das alte Reich und die Fransösiche Revolution*, Mainz, 1990, 21–8; Henk te Velde, Political transfer: an introduction, in: *European Review of History* 12, 2, 2005, 205–11.

39 Marc Lerner, The Helvetic Republic: an ambivalent reception of French revolutionary liberty, in: *French History* 18, 1, 2004, 50–75.

40 Rapport, Belgium.

gained its military confidence after the Battle of Valmy earlier that year.[41] The general in charge of the French expedition was Charles-François Dumouriez, an ambitious leader of Girondin signature who had for several years been an active promoter of invading the Netherlands. He and Interior Minister Pierre Lebrun, himself a former resident of the occupied provinces, harboured a specific plan for the Southern Netherlands.[42] Joined together with the adjacent Prince-bishopric of Liège, invaded in the same expedition, they would be turned into an independent republic under French tutelage. Thus the exportation of French democratic ideology and the establishment of an obedient buffer state on the north border could be achieved in one single move.

Dumouriez and Lebrun had good reasons for believing that the inhabitants of the Southern Netherlands were in favour of French liberation.[43] Since 1787 relations with their Austrian overlord were seriously troubled. At the root of the problem was Emperor Joseph II's programme of modernizing the administrative, juridical and ecclesiastical organisation of his Belgian provinces.[44] The Netherlands (Low Countries) had remained largely untouched by his predecessors' policies of centralisation and rationalization of the Habsburg Empire. In exchange for regular payment of taxes, these remote provinces had retained their traditional organisation and a relatively high degree of autonomy.

Inspired by the ideas of Enlightened despotism, Joseph was determined to modernize the Netherlands from above.[45] His disregard of Belgian sensibilities as well as his uncompromising style of action soon pitted the local elites against him.[46] Especially after the publication of his plan to replace the traditional provinces by a new system of centralized administrative delineations headed by imperial *intendants*, stripping the powerful provincial Estates of most of their competences, resistance grew strong.[47] After an initial outburst of discontent in

41 Chastain Howe, *Foreign Policy*, 103

42 Ibid., 7–40.

43 Janet L. Polasky, *Revolution in Brussels, 1787–1793*, Brussels, 1985, 144.

44 On the Brabant Revolution, read: Polasky, *Revolution in Brussels* and Suzanne Tassier, *Les democrates belges de 1789*, Brussels, 1930.

45 On the imperial policies of modernisation, read: Timothy C.W. Blanning, *Joseph II*, New York, 1994; Walter W. Davis, *Joseph II: An Imperial Reformer for the Austrian Netherlands*, The Hague, 1974; Hervé Hasquin, *Joseph II. Catholique anticlérical et réformateur impatient, 1741–1790*, Brussels, 2007.

46 Luc Dhondt, Politiek en institutioneel onvermogen 1780–1794 in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, in: *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 9, Haarlem, 1980, 142; Polasky, *Revolution*, 36.

47 Jan Roegiers, Kerk en staat in de Oostenrijkse Nederlanden, in: *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 9, Haarlem, 1980, 370.

1787, the conflict gained full force in 1789. A rebellious army trained in the Dutch Republic by local opposition groups staged a successful invasion of Brabant. With Austrian military capacity in the Southern Netherlands low because of conflicts in the Balkans, the rebels soon managed to oust the Austrians and to proclaim the independent United States of Belgium. With Brabant as the centre of the revolt, the episode became known under the name of the Brabant Revolution.[48]

The republican experiment was short-lived. In less than a year's time the new Emperor Leopold II (who had succeeded his deceased brother Joseph in 1790) succeeded in restoring Austrian dominance. Despite Leopold's conciliatory policy, relations with the provincial Estates and their numerous supporters remained tense.[49] Many felt that traditional liberties and privileges were still being violated.[50] When general Dumouriez entered the Southern Netherlands at the head of the invading French army in 1792, he skillfully played upon these frustrations. In a widely circulated pamphlet he announced that the French troops entered Belgian soil to help its inhabitants 'plant the tree of liberty'. In many places the French were indeed warmly welcomed. The hopeless deadlock in Belgian–Austrian relations had made many susceptible to the discourse of liberty and fraternity of their revolutionary neighbours to the south.

However, disappointment soon grew on both sides. It turned out that the French revolutionaries' conception of liberty fundamentally differed from the one defended by most of the discontented Brabantines. Central to the French revolutionaries' definition of political liberty was the principle of the sovereignty of the people. They had radically rejected the logic of historical precedent so characteristic of old regime society and substituted it with the abstract and universal principles of natural law. In Belgium, however, and particularly in Brabant, the situation was very different. The Brabant Revolution had not been about obtaining popular sovereignty but about upholding the age-old provincial privileges and liberties in the face of infringement by the sovereign. However similar on the surface, ideologically both revolutions had little in common.

48 For a general overview of the events, read: Polasky, *Revolution* and Tassier, *Histoire*. For a recent historiographical analysis: Janet L. Polasky, The Brabant Revolution: 'a revolution in historiographical perception', in: *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Nieuwste Geschiedenis* 25, 4, 2005, 335–55.

49 Davis, *Joseph II*, 277; Dhondt, Politiek en institutioneel onvermogen, 153; Roegiers, Kerk en staat, 374.

50 Polasky, *Revolution*, 200.

As with other territories dependent on a geographically distant ruler, the polity of early modern Brabant functioned according to the principle of *dominium politicum et regale*.[51] This means the existence of a system of shared sovereignty in which the rules of government are made by the monarch but their validation depends on the subjects' consent. It implies the existence of a representative institution possessing power of consultation in certain areas of government, typically including taxation. In Brabant this took the form of the provincial Estates, a regularly convening assembly consisting of delegations of the three orders of society, as well as the Council of Brabant, a high court of justice competent to examine the compatibility of all new legislation with the constitutions of the duchy.[52] These constitutions, of medieval origin, formed the keystone of Brabant's polity and the pride of the inhabitants. The most important charter was the famous Joyeuse Entrée, on which each successive duke was obliged to swear an oath of allegiance. Wrung from Duchess Joanna by the powerful Brabantine cities during the crisis of succession following the death of Duke John III in 1355 it granted particularly far-reaching liberties.[53] Most importantly, the charter specified the right to disobedience on the part of the subjects should the duke infringe on any of its stipulations.[54]

Constitutionalism thus was a defining element of early modern Brabantine political culture.[55] It had effectively guaranteed a relatively high degree of autonomy vis-à-vis the monarch and had ensured local elites of considerable participation in government. The charter's fame grew as its most far-reaching

51 Helmut Georg Koenigsberger, 'Dominium Regale' or 'Dominium Politicum et Regale': monarchies and parliaments in early modern Europe, in: *idem*, *Politicians and Virtuosi: Essays in Early Modern History,* London, 1986, 1–25; Geert Van den Bossche, *Enlightened Innovation and the Ancient Constitution: The Intellectual Justification of Revolution in Brabant (1787–1790)*, Brussels, 2001, 39.

52 Guido Van Dievoet, *L'empereur Joseph II et la Joyeuse Entrée de Brabant. Les dernières années de la constitution brabançonne*, Leuven, 1958, 103.

53 Edmond Poullet, *Histoire de la Joyeuse-Entrée de Brabant et de ses origines*, Brussels, 1863; *idem*, *Les constitutions nationales belges de l'ancien régime à l'époque de l'invasion française de 1794*, Brussels, 1875; Ria Van Bragt, *De Blijde Inkomst van de Hertogen van Brabant Johanna en Wenceslas (3 januari 1356). Een inleidende studie en tekstuitgave*, Standen en Landen 13, Leuven, 1956.

54 Tom Verschaffel, De traditie in de Brabantse Omwenteling. De oude constitutie en het lange leven van artikel 59, in: H. de Smaele/Jo Tollebeek (eds.), *Politieke representatie*, Leuven, 2002, 154.

55 On early modern constitutionalism, read: Moses Finley, *The Ancestral Constitution: An Inaugural Lecture*, Cambridge, 1971; John G.A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century. A Reissue with Retrospect*, Cambridge, 1987.

clause – article 59, the right to disobey – was effectively put into practice. This happened on three occasions. First when Duke John IV was temporarily deposed in 1420 after conflicts with the Estates over his foreign policies.[56] Second when King Philip II of Spain was deposed during the Dutch Revolt. Although the Joyeuse Entrée was an exclusively Brabantine charter, all the rebellious provinces had rallied around it to revoke their allegiance to Philip and choose a new sovereign on the grounds that he had systematically violated his subjects' rights and privileges. As such Brabant's most famous constitution came to legitimize the independence of the Dutch Republic, in which only a small proportion of Brabantine territory was effectively incorporated.[57] The third occasion was the Brabant Revolution of 1789, when the Joyeuse Entrée was again called upon to legitimize the monarch's deposition.[58]

Consequently, constitutionalism had become one of the founding elements of what one might call a regional identity. Their jealous observance of the constitutions had earned the early modern Brabantines a freedom-loving reputation. Especially in the eighteenth century this idea was cultivated by the production of historical narratives which presented the inhabitants' love of freedom as the guiding principle of the history of the duchy. This narrative was however not confined to Brabant proper but gained popularity in the whole of the Southern Netherlands.[59] As the cases of the Dutch Revolt and the Brabant Revolution show, the constitutional tradition of its central duchy was politically relevant to the Netherlands as a whole.[60] The same goes for eighteenth-century historiography on the Austrian Netherlands. Elements originally belonging to Brabantine political culture had grown into 'Belgian' attributes.[61]

56 Robert Stein, De Brabantse leeuw sluimert (1346–1430). Vreemde vorsten op de troon, in: R. van Uytven e.a. (eds.) *Geschiedenis van Brabant. Van het hertogdom tot heden*, Zwolle, 2004, 166.

57 Pieter A.M. Geurts, Het beroep op de Blijde Inkomst in de pamfletten uit de Tachtigjarige Oorlog, in: *Standen en Landen* 16, 1958, 9.

58 Geert Van den Bossche, Historians as Advisors to Revolution? Imagining the Belgian Nation, in: *History of European Ideas* 23, 3, 1998; Tom Verschaffel, De traditie.

59 Johannes Koll, Revolution und Nation, in: *idem* (ed.), *Nationale Bewegungen in Belgien. Ein Historischer Überblick*, Munster, 2005, 27; Van Bragt, *De Blijde Inkomst*, 7; Van den Bossche, *Enlightened Innovation*, 39; Tom Verschaffel, *De hoed en de hond. Geschiedschrijving in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1715–1794*, Hilversum, 1998, 295–379.

60 Jan Roegiers, Nederlandse vrijheden en trouw aan het Huis van Oostenrijk, in: Hervé Hasquin/Roger Mortier (eds.), *Unité et diversité de l'empire des Habsbourg à la fin du xviiie siècle*, Brussels, 1988, 152.

61 Edouard Mailly, *Histoire de l'Académie Impériale et Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles*, vol. 1, Brussels, 1883, 407; Van den Bossche, *Enlightened Innovation*, 150–1.

Thus, while France and Brabant almost simultaneously experienced revolution, revolutionaries in both countries pursued different goals.[62] These ideological differences were sharply felt in Paris.[63] At first the French revolutionaries had welcomed their northern neighbours' insurrection as the next step in the liberation of mankind. The journalist and later deputy Camille Desmoulins had tellingly baptized his revolutionary newspaper *Révolutions de France et de Brabant*.[64] This initial fraternal enthusiasm, however, quickly dampened as it became clear that both events shared only superficial similarities.[65] The government of the newly founded United States of Belgium was entrusted to a Sovereign Congress composed of deputies of the respective provincial Estates. Instead of widening political representation, the Revolt had the effect of confirming the privileged orders in power. The Congress accordingly pursued distinctively conservative and ultramontane policies, to the point of encouraging the violent prosecution of the democratically inspired minority organized around the Brussels lawyer Jan-Frans Vonck.[66] In September 1790 the French National Assembly refused to respond to the Sovereign Congress's appeal for military help in the face of Austrian invasion, on the grounds that it was an aristocratic body impeding the cause of liberty.[67]

A democratic tendency was indeed not altogether absent from the Brabant Revolution. In fact, the military successes of the rebellious army depended a

62 Much has been written on the ideological orientation of the Brabant Revolution. Key publications include: Jan Craeybeckx, De Brabantse Omwenteling: een conservatieve opstand in een achterlijk land?, in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 80, 1967, 303–30; Luc Dhondt, De conservatieve Brabantse omwenteling van 1789 en het proces van revolutie en contrarevolutie in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tussen 1780 en 1830, in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 102, 1989, 422–50; Hervé Hasquin, La Révolution brabançonne ou quand l'Histoire marche à reculons, in: Hervé Hasquin/Roger Mortier (eds.), *Unité et diversité de l'empire des Habsbourg à la fin du xviiie siècle*, Brussels, 1988, 165–72; Jean Stengers, La révolution Brabançonne, une révolution nationale?, in: *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques* 6, 3, 1992, 323–69; Fernand Vanhemelryck, De Brabantse Revolutie: het verhaal van een mislukking, in: *idem* (ed.), *Revolutie in Brabant 1787–1793*, Brussels, 1990, 9–82. For 'revisionist' reassessments of the debate, read Polasky, *Revolution* and Van den Bossche, *Enlightened Innovation*.

63 Deseure, *Een bruikbaar verleden*, 197–9.

64 Fred Stevens, 'Révolutions de France et de Brabant'. Heurs et malheurs de la Révolution brabançonne dans le tourbillon de la France, in: Beatrix Jacobs/Raymond Kubben/Randall Lesaffer (eds.), *In the Embrace of France: The Law of Nations and Constitutional Law in the French Satellite States of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Age (1789–1815)*, Tilburg, 2006, 56.

65 Howe, *Foreign Policy*, 87.

66 Tassier, *Les democrates*, 221.

67 Howe, *Foreign Policy*, 36.

great deal on an effective mobilisation campaign led by Vonck and his supporters in the build-up to the conflict.[68] However, once the Austrian army had been chased away, the Estates managed to monopolize power and to shut the democrats out of participation in government. Mainly recruited in the liberal and commercial professions, which were excluded from political representation, the democrats enjoyed only limited popular support.[69] The traditional authorities represented in the Estates by contrast held considerable sway over public opinion, presenting themselves as the champions of the constitutional tradition.

However, the political views of most democrats were far removed from the revolutionary, godless anarchism they were accused of by the Estatist party. In fact, they felt very strongly about the preservation of the ancient constitutions.[70] Just like the Estates they referred to the Joyeuse Entrée, and not to abstract principles, to legitimize Joseph II's deposition.[71] In contrast to the Estates, they held that depositing the monarch restored the people in full possession of its original sovereignty. With the mandate of both Emperor and Estates expired, the people regained the right to adopt any constitution it pleased. In practice most democrats proposed to retain the old constitutions while modernizing the form of government. By broadening political representation so as to include all kinds of sections of the population, the Estates of Brabant were to be transformed in a real national assembly adapted to contemporary social reality. According to the democrats, such rearrangements were perfectly compatible with the ancient constitutions as these did not stipulate the exact composition of the Estates, which was the result of mere custom and had often been subject to change in the past. All in all, mainstream democratic thinking was reformist rather than revolutionary.[72]

Only after the failure of the Brabant Revolution did a more radically democratic movement manifest itself. In the course of 1791 many local democrats

68 Tassier, *Les democrates*.

69 Polasky, *Revolution*, 166.

70 The moderately democratic point of view of the group around Vonck has most comprehensively been expressed in the following treatises: Jan-Frans Vonck, *Considérations impartiales sur la position actuelle du Brabant*, Brussels, 1790; *Adresse présentée aux Etats de Brabant, le 15 mars 1790, signée par quarante-une Personnes, & dont les signatures ont servi de Liste de Proscription*, Brussels, 1790; G. Poringo/J. Motoulle, *Observations sur la constitution primitive et originaire des trois Etats de Brabant*, Brussels, 1791.

71 Van den Bossche, Historians, 206.

72 Dhondt, Les débuts de la démocratie en Belgique et la figure de Jean-François Vonck, in: Hervé Hasquin/Roger Mortier (eds.), *Jean-François Vonck, 1743–1792*, Brussels, 1996, 65–84; Polasky, *Revolution*, 166; Tassier, *Les démocrates*, 445–8.

opted for exile in France out of dissatisfaction with the conservative policy of the restored Austrian government. The group around the original leader Vonck, who resided in Lille, remained loyal to the old constitutions and kept on defending a moderate reformism. In Paris by contrast a committee of radical democrats was founded, composed of veterans of the revolutions of Brabant and of neighbouring Liège.[73] This *Comité des belges et liégeois unis* radically rejected the ancient constitutions. In its manifesto, drafted in 1792 by later Interior Minister Pierre Lebrun, the constitutions were called 'an imperfect correction of the feudal regime, of which they had retained the degrading distinctions and the odious prerogatives'.[74] The constitutions would never be able to bring true liberty as they encouraged aristocratic despotism and denied true political representation to the people. The committee therefore incited the latter no longer to found its just claim for liberty on medieval charters but to turn to enlightened philosophy and natural rights instead.

Rejection of the Brabantine constitutional tradition

When General Dumouriez entered the Austrian Netherlands in 1792, he wrongfully contended that the majority of the people shared the radical democrats' opinions on liberty.[75] Probably his close connections to the *Comité des belges et liégeois unis* were at least partly responsible for this inaccurate assessment. The promoters of a Belgian invasion believed that the fiasco of the Brabant Revolution had been an eye-opener to the Belgians. They contended it had made the Belgians understand the treacherous conduct of the privileged classes, who in their view had hijacked the popular protest movement and turned it to their own exclusive advantage. Most importantly, it had supposedly made them understand the deficiencies of the old constitutions, which they believed served only the interests of the Estates.[76]

In the pamphlet he addressed to the Belgians a few days after his victory, Dumouriez felt safe to announce that they were free to adopt any constitution they

73 Howe, *Foreign Policy*; Tassier, *Les démocrates.*
74 «Un correctif imparfait du régime féodal, dont elles avoient conservé les distinctions avilissantes & les odieuses prérogatives» [Pierre Lebrun], *Manifeste des Belges et Liégeois Unis*, Paris, 1792, 3.
75 Howe, *Foreign Policy*, 125.
76 Polasky, *Revolution*, 223.

wished, as long as it safeguarded the sovereignty of the people.[77] With that aim, elections for a national constitutional assembly were announced.[78] Reactions were however less enthusiastic than expected. In response to Dumouriez's announcement an anonymous pamphleteer of conservative persuasion sourly wrote:

> We have the honour of informing you, with a candour inspired by the love of Liberty, that we do not need to adopt a constitution since we already have one, for which our Ancestors, for such a long series of centuries, have spilled so much of their blood. The same blood runs in our veins and it is for this beloved Constitution that we will fight the Despots and that we will spill the last drop of our Blood.[79]

As the outcome of the elections made clear, the anonymous pamphleteer did not stand alone in his opinion.[80] In all of the electoral cantons of the city of Brussels the majority of the voters rejected the convening of a constitutional assembly and called for the preservation of the 'Constitution of these lands of Brabant'.[81] Throughout Brabant the outcome of the elections was deeply conservative.

In the meantime the French National Convention had taken measures to hasten the end of 'despotism' in the occupied territories.[82] On 15 December 1792 it issued a decree ordering the complete dismantling of the old regime.[83] All privileges, institutions and taxes were to be annulled. Much to the *conventionaires*' surprise and disillusionment, the decree was met with a storm of protest.[84] Conservative supporters of the Estates as well as moderate democrats, many of whom held posts in the newly elected provisional city councils, publicly expressed their dissatisfaction at the Convention's meddling with domestic Belgian affairs. The suppression of the Brabant constitutions aroused widespread indignation. In an attempt to enlighten the people about the defects of the old constitutions, Dumouriez again issued a pamphlet: 'that which one

77 Charles Dumouriez, *Manifeste du Général Dumouriez au peuple de la Belgique. De Valenciennes, le 26 octobre 1792*, Valenciennes, 1792.

78 Charles Dumouriez, *Le Général Dumouriez au peuple belge*, 1792.

79 '*Nous avons l'honneur de Vous dire avec cette franchise qu'inspire l'amour de la Liberté, que nous ne devons pas adopter une constitution puisque nous en avons une pour laquelle nos Ancêtres, depuis une si longue série de siècles, ont versé tant de sang: le même sang coule dans nos veines, & c'est pour cette Constitution chérie que nous combattrons contre les Despotes & que nous verserons jusqu'à la dernière goutte de notre Sang*' (*Réponse d'un Belge au Manifeste du Général Dumouriez*, 1792).

80 Howe, *Foreign Policy*, 126; Tassier, *Histoire*, 166.

81 *Voorstelling voor den wille ende keus te doen door de inwoonders der vry-stad Brussel*, Brussels, 1792.

82 Howe, *Foreign Policy*, 122.

83 *L'Ancien Moniteur ou la Gazette nationale. Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur*, Paris, 1862, 17 December 1792.

84 Howe, *Foreign Policy*, 125.

calls the people's constitution is false. It is neither made by the people nor for it; the people must be able to pronounce on the constitution that it finds most fitting to adopt'.[85] The ancient constitutions were responsible for the failure of the Brabant Revolt, he wrote. 'With what grief have I heard you cry: long live liberty, long live the estates! It is as if you had said: long live liberty, long live slavery!'.[86] True freedom, he argued, could only be attained by rejecting Estates, privileges and feudal rights and embracing the principles of liberty and equality.

Such explicit anti-constitutionalism proved trend-setting for official French discourse during the rest of the first period of occupation. Military as well as civil officials did their best to convince the inhabitants of the superiority of the French revolutionary conception of liberty over the one enshrined in the ancient charters and privileges. A typical example is the following excerpt from a speech held in 1793 by Pierre Chaussard, representative of the people on mission in Antwerp: 'Repel far from you the ghost of a nation-killing constitution, built upon the debris of your Liberty … This constitution was in the self-interest of artistocracy, this constitution was a conspiracy of the interest of a few men against the interest of all'.[87]

Especially militant in this respect were the members of the Jacobin clubs that sprang up in the larger cities immediately after the French entry in Brabant. These societies were led by radical democrats who had returned to Belgium in the wake of the French armies as well as by immigrant French revolutionaries. They devoted themselves to political discussion as well as to the enlightenment of their fellow citizens.[88] The perfidy and primitivism of the ancient Brabantine constitutions was a recurring theme in the clubs' discussions. Their medieval origin was regularly invoked to account for their weaknesses: 'relics of the ancient barbarism of our ancestors',[89] 'Gothic constitution of Brabant, accommodating

85 '*Ce qu'on appelle sa [of the people] constitution n'en est pas une. Elle n'a pas été faite par lui, ni pour lui; il faut qu'il puisse prononcer sur celle qu'il lui sera convenable d'adopter*' (Dumouriez, *Le Général Dumouriez au peuple belge*, 1792).

86 '*Avec quelle douleur vous ai-je entendu crier: vive la liberté, vive les états! C'est comme si vous disiez: vive la liberté, vive l'esclavage!*' (ibid.).

87 '*Repoussez loin de vous le fantôme d'une constitution nationicide, élevée sur les débris de votre Liberté … Cette constitution était le calcul de l'aristocratie; cette constitution était une conjuration de l'intérêt de quelques hommes contre l'intérêt de tous*' (Pierre Chaussard, *Discours prononcé à la Société des Amis de la Liberté et de* l'Egalité, Antwerp, 1793).

88 Orient Lee, *Les comités et les clubs des patriotes belges et liégeois (1791–an III)*, Paris, 1931; Adolphe Levae, *Les jacobins, les patriotes et les représentants provisoires de Bruxelles, 1792–1793*, Brussels, 1846; Polasky, *Revolution*, 223; Tassier, *Histoire*, 210.

89 '*Restes de l'ancienne barbarie de nos ancêtres*' (*Journal de la Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Egalité*, Brussels, 28 November 1792).

mother of all usurpers and public bloodsuckers, and stepmother of the laborious people',[90] 'old and deformed constitution of the estates'.[91] Club members especially attacked the unjust composition of the Estates and the lack of real political representation for the majority of the people. According to them the constitutions concentrated power in the hands of a privileged minority which exclusively worked to defend its own interests. As one Brussels speaker stated, the ancient constitution 'makes the happiness of nobles and monks and maintains the abuses, leaving the poor people crushed under taxes'.[92]

The Brussels club proceeded to organize the public burning of the original charter of the Joyeuse Entrée.[93] In France the burning of letters of nobility and other symbols of 'feudalism' was a common feature of revolutionary political culture. The event was meant to symbolize the end of *Ancien Régime* despotism and the advent of the reign of liberty.[94] However, as the city council refused to put the charter at the club's disposal, a published collection of Brabantine privileges was burned instead, alongside effigies of the primary conservative leader of the Brabant Revolution. Afterwards a tree of liberty was planted on the city's main square. Interestingly, the club members invited their colleagues in the neighbouring counties of Flanders and Hainaut to follow their example. As these provinces lacked a written constitution, however, the Brussels Jacobins encouraged them to use the Brabantine constitutions as a substitute.[95]

90 '*Gothique constitution du Brabant, mère complaisante de tous les usurpateurs & des sangsues publiques, & marâtre du peuple laborieux*' (ibid., 30 November 1792).

91 '*Vieille & difforme constitution des états*' (ibid., 7 January 1793).

92 '*Fait le bonheur des nobles, des moines & maintient les abus, en laissant le pauvre peuple écrasé d'impôts*' (ibid., 11 December 1792).

93 *Journal de la Société des Amis de la Liberté et de l'Egalité*, Brussels, 4 January 1793.

94 Lynn Hunt, Hercules and the radical image in the French Revolution, in: *Representations* 2, 1983, 96; James A. Leith, *Space and Revolution: Projects for Monuments, Squares and Public Buildings in France 1789–1799*, Montréal, 1991, 26; Hans Ulrich Thamer, Die Aneignung der Tradition. Destruktion und Konstruktion im Umgang der Französischen Revolution mit Monumenten des Ancien Régime, in: Rolf Reichardt/Rüdiger Schmid/HansUlricht Thamer (eds.), *Symbolische Politik und Politische Zeichensysteme im Zeitalter der Französischen Revolution (1789–1848)*, Münster, 2005, 101.

95 *Relation de la cérémonie de la bénédiction du drapeau des Sans-Culottes faite à Bruxelles le 13 Janvier, l'an 2 des peuples libres*, Brussels, 1792; *L'Ancien Moniteur ou la Gazette nationale. Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur*, Paris, 1862, 21 January 1793; Levae, *Les jacobins*, 215.

Recuperation in political discourse

In the end the Belgians' attachment to their ancient constitutions, and the social order that they legitimized, contributed, among other more strategic considerations, to the French deputies' decision to annex the Belgian provinces to France.[96] It became clear that without French guidance the Belgians were not prone to adopt a democratic form of government, least of all the Brabantines. Shortly after the annexation in March 1793, however, the Austrian victory in the Battle of Neerwinden forced the French troops to evacuate the Netherlands. At the time of their return in June 1794, the French deputies' attitude towards the occupied territories had profoundly changed. The initial idealism of generously liberating mankind from despotism had subsided to a more pragmatic approach, informed by geostrategic as well as financial needs.[97] The Netherlands were now treated as conquered lands, which implied massive impositions and the systematic extraction of goods for the sake of French state finances.[98] The memory of the inhabitants' 'ungrateful' behaviour during the first period of occupation contributed to the harshness of the occupational regime.

During the second period of occupation there was no question of organizing elections or consulting the inhabitants on their political future. The occupied provinces were centrally governed by the representatives of the people on mission, assisted by a newly organized central administrative council.[99] On 1 October 1795, after more than a year of occupation, the French Convention voted for annexation, mainly with a view to French strategic interests.[100] One month earlier the existing provincial delineations had been suppressed and were

96 Jacques Godechot, *La Grande Nation. L'expansion révolutionnaire de la France dans le monde de 1789 à 1799*, Paris, 1956, 76–80; Howe, *Foreign Policy*, 147; Polasky, *Revolution,* 255; Tassier, *Histoire*, 234.

97 Hervé Hasquin, De Fleurus à la République, un pays meurtri, in: Hervé Hasquin (ed.), *La Belgique française*, Brussels, 1993, 60; Fred Stevens/Fernand Vanhemelryck/Karel Veraghtert (eds.), *Vrijheid, gelijkheid of de dood: 1 oktober 1795, Brussel op een keerpunt*, Brussels, 1995.

98 Robert Devleeshouwer, Occupants et occupés. La répression en Belgique en l'an III, in: *Annales historiques de la Révolution française* 215, 1967, 199–220; Rapport, Belgium, 61.

99 M. Hennebert , L'organisation administrative du département de la Dyle sous le Directoire, in: *Revue d'histoire moderne* 18, 4, 1928, 413–19; Piet Lenders, L'annexation à la France et le passage au Régime Moderne, in: Hervé Hasquin (ed.), *La Belgique française*, Brussels, 1993, 75–98; Prosper Poullet, *Les institutions françaises de 1795 à 1814. Essai sur les origines des institutions belges contemporaines*, Brussels, 1907, 164; Stevens, *Vrijheid*, 45.

100 Hasquin, De Fleurus, 60; Michel Vovelle, *Les Républiques-sœurs sous le regard de la Grande Nation, 1795–1803*, Paris, 2000, 14.

replaced by nine departments. The provincial Estates had evidently ceased to exist long before. Administrative reorganisation continued over the following years, with the first elections being held in 1797.

Although the inhabitants were granted no part in government during these times, considerable attention was devoted to their enlightenment. French officials tried to edify them in the principles of liberty and equality by means of speeches, proclamations and ceremonial acts. In these discursive deeds, explicit references to regional identities were rare. The public was either addressed as 'Belgians' or called upon its local identity as inhabitants of a specific city. As the old provinces had ceased to exist, references to these entities were both useless and undesirable. The speakers regularly reminded their listeners that all the divisions that had hitherto existed between the Belgians, including provincials ones, had subsided with a view to establishing unity and fraternity. The old rivalries had become all the more irrelevant as all inhabitants were French now and would be treated accordingly.

In contrast to the first period of occupation, the ancient constitutions were conspicuously absent from French official discourse. The Joyeuse Entrée and the other charters had effectively lost validity with the introduction of French law. No explicit references were made to their demise. Even in ceremonies representing the symbolic destruction of the old regime the ancient constitutions had no role to play. Their remarkable absence can be explained by the very different political situation. Unlike the first period of occupation, abolishing the Brabantine constitutions was not a matter of choice but a political reality imposed on a mostly unwilling people by the new regime. Its representatives had no gains to expect from raking up the people's attachment to these abolished rights and privileges.[101]

Nevertheless the Brabantine constitutional tradition proved an important source of inspiration for French officials when addressing the inhabitants of the *départements réunis*. The latter's love of freedom constituted one of the most important themes in their public discourse. To be sure, the French officials consistently spoke of the Belgian, rather than the Brabantine, love of freedom. As we have seen earlier, the Brabantine constitutional tradition was at the heart of the whole idea of Belgian liberty. French officials made every effort to appropriate the latter, while simultaneously abolishing the ancient constitutions and avoiding to refer to them in their discourse. In doing so they were clearly influenced by the discourse of the radical Belgian democrats.

101 A similar point regarding the French revolutionaries' treatment of the past is made in: François Furet, La naissance de l'histoire, in: *idem*, *L'atelier de l'histoire*, Paris, 1982, 113.

In eighteenth-century historiography and political culture the idea of the Belgians' love of freedom had been inseparable from traditional (Brabantine) constitutionalism. In the course of the ideological conflict between Estatists and democrats in the Brabant Revolution, however, a new interpretation had emerged. Disappointed with the outcome of the Revolution, radical democrats turned to presenting the constitutions as make-believe liberties used by the privileged classes to deceive the people.[102] However, they held on to the established idea that love of freedom provided the leitmotiv of Belgian history. Not the Belgians' devotion for the ancient constitutions but consistent opposition and revolt against their 'monarchical despots', in the Dutch Revolt as on other occasions, was cited as evidence of this contention.[103] As such, the idea of Belgian love of freedom was saved but reinterpreted in an anti-constitutional and anti-monarchical way.

The French officials' discourse on liberty bespeaks of the same interpretation. Just like the radical democrats they paired praise for the deeply rooted Belgian love of liberty with a rejection of the ancient constitutions. In speeches they spoke time and again of the spirit of freedom which had made the Belgians revolt against their sovereigns all through the ages. Belgian history was presented as a lengthy succession of rebellions aimed at attaining liberty. In a proclamation of 1795 the French representatives of the people on a mission typically addressed their audience as follows: 'Belgians! You have often tried to make a leap towards liberty. You too have fought for that sublime and sacred cause!'.[104]

The rhetorical value of this reinterpretation is obvious. The image of the freedom-loving Belgian was useful for propagating the revolutionary message. Leaving out the ancient constitutions enabled the French officials to identify revolutionary ideology with traditional Belgian (or Brabantine) love of freedom and even to ground it in Belgian (or Brabantine) history. Often they expressed the idea that the Belgians had essentially been French long before the annexation, and even that they had preceded the French on the path of liberty. As *commissaire national* Chaussard formulated this speech in Antwerp: 'Liberty. Your ancestors were the worshippers of its cult; it is your task to re-establish

102 Brecht Deseure, 'Rappelez-leur, pour mieux les persuader': French political legitimation and historical discourse in Belgium (1792–1799), in: David Andress (ed.), *Experiencing the French Revolution*, Oxford, 2013, 221–44.

103 Lebrun, *Manifeste*.

104 '*Belges! Vous avez différentes fois poussé des élans vers la liberté. Vous avez aussi combattu pour cette cause sublime et sacrée*' (Antwerp City Archives, Privilegiekamer inv. nr. 2878, proclamation nr. 924, *Proclamation au nom du peuple français*, Antwerp, 17 Nivôse year 3).

its altars. The principles of the French revolution have for a long time been the principles of your fathers. Consult history'.[105]

According to this narrative, the Belgians (or Brabantines) were finally to attain the fulfilment of their history by embracing the French Revolution and annexation. Simultaneously, French intervention in Belgium was historically legitimized. For despite their love of freedom and their rebelliousness, the Belgians had never been able to shake off permanently the yoke of despotism. Only French guidance could make freedom last. An anonymous Antwerp speechmaker stated it as follows: 'We had already attempted to shatter the disgraceful yoke weighing down on us; but it was reserved for the French Nation to bring about that happiness and that revolution in our favour'.[106]

Thus a founding element of old regime regional identity was appropriated and transformed by French officials in Brabant to promote revolutionary ideology and enhance its acceptance by the population. This strategy was not only pursued in speech but also in the display of imagery. The latter was very prominent in French revolutionary political culture. From the very beginning the Revolution has spawned the development of a wealth of innovative symbols and images expressing the new political ideas and realities.[107] Moreover, policy-makers very consciously utilized visual images as a means for propagating revolutionary ideology.[108] Under the influence of eighteenth-century sensualism, the revolutionaries sought to play upon the senses so as to instil their message more effectively.[109] An innovative blend of classical, Christian and Masonic

105 '*La Liberté. Vos ancêtres furent les adorateurs de son culte; c'est à vous de relever ses autels. Les principes de la révolution française furent longtemps les principes de vos pères. Ouvrez l'histoire*' (Chaussard, *Discours*).

106 '*Nous avions déjà tenté de briser le joug honteux sous lequel nous étions courbés; mais il était réservé à la Nation Française d'opérer en notre faveur ce bonheur & cette révolution*' (*Un des discours prononcé à la fête donnée par les Anversois aux Français*, Antwerp, 1792).

107 Maurice Agulhon, *Marianne au combat. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaine de 1789 à 1880*, Paris, 1979; Ian Germani/Robin Swales (eds.), *Symbols, Myths and Images of the French Revolution*, Winnipeg, 1998; Hans Kohle/Rolf Reichardt, *Visualizing the Revolution: Politics and the Pictorial Arts in Late Eighteenth-century France*, London, 2008; Edouard Pommier, *L'art de la liberté. Doctrines et débats de la Révolution française*, Paris, 1991; Michel Vovelle, *Les images de la Révolution française*, Paris, 1988.

108 James A. Leith, The idea of art as propaganda during the French Revolution, in: *Report of the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association* 38, 1960, 30–43; Jean-Clément Martin, Introduction, in: Nathalie Scholz/Christina Schröer (eds.), *Représentation et pouvoir. La politique symbolique en France (1789–1830)*, Rennes, 2007, 1–19; Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire. 1789–1799*, Paris, 1976, 280.

109 Hunt, Hercules, 98; Annie Jourdan, *Les monuments de la Révolution, 1770–1804. Une histoire de representation*, Paris, 1997, 11; Leith, The Idea, 31; Ozouf, *La fête*, 241–4.

elements, revolutionary visual language was marked by a tendency towards abstraction and allegory.

At first sight, its introduction in Belgium was free of references to the local or regional context. Due to the different nature of the Belgian conception of liberty, there was hardly any autochthonous political imagery for the French authorities to appropriate. The frontispiece of Jean des Roches' *Histoire générale des Pays-Bas* (1787), the very first 'national' history of the Belgian territories, is telling in this respect. On it, the Belgians' freedom-loving nature is symbolized by a genius holding a hat in his right hand while caressing a dog with his left.[110] While the hat stood for constitutionally guaranteed freedom, the dog represented loyalty to the sovereign. Since both dynastic loyalty and old constitutions completely belonged to the realm of old regime politics, such symbolism was unsuitable for appropriation. French revolutionary imagery was therefore substituted for autochthonous political symbolism.

Prominent among the new French liberty symbols was the tree of liberty, erected in each town upon its capture (or 'liberation', in revolutionary discourse) by the French troops.[111] Also, the cult of the goddess of Reason was established, which was celebrated in appropriately decorated temples. Furthermore the revolutionary festivals, with their typical display of ritual and allegorical symbolism referring to revolutionary values, were introduced.[112] In all of these instances, liberty was usually represented by a goddess in classical garb, wearing the Phrygian cap and armed with a pike.

The introduction of these classical revolutionary symbols of liberty was carefully arranged so as to suggest a break with the past and the beginning of a new era of liberty. Not coincidentally, liberty trees were planted to replace toppled royal statues, as was the case in Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels.[113] In Brussels it was erected in the middle of the former Place Royale, which for the occasion had been renamed Place de la Liberté. Moreover both the planting of the trees and the opening of the temples was accompanied by ritual acts of destruction.

110 Verschaffel, *De hoed*, 5.

111 Suzanne Anderegg, *Der Freiheitsbaum. Ein Rechtssymbol in Zeitalter der Rationalismus*, Zürich, 1968; Brecht Deseure, Boom van Vrijheid/Boom van Slavernij. De Antwerpse vrijheidsbomen tussen oud en nieuw, *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis* 88, 4, 2010, 221–5; Albert Mathiez, *Les origines des cultes révolutionnaires (1789–1792)*, Paris, 1904; Ozouf, *La fête*, 281–310.

112 Ozouf, *La fête*, 158; Charles Pergameni, *Le culte national à Bruxelles sous le Directoire*, Brussels, 1934; *idem*, *Les fêtes révolutionnaires et l'esprit public bruxellois au début du régime français*, Brussels, 1913.

113 Deseure, Boom van vrijheid, 228.

In Antwerp the coats of arms of Brabant and Austria and the imperial eagles decorating the town hall were mutilated in preparation of the planting ceremony. During the ceremony, portraits of former dukes and emperors were burned on a stake at the foot of the tree.[114] Similarly, at the occasion of the opening of the Antwerp temple of Reason, fire was set to a wagon laden with old regime symbols – including royal and papal insignia as well as a portrait of Emperor Joseph II dangling from the gallows.

On closer inspection, however, visual references to older conceptions of liberty were not altogether absent. As it turns out, the introduction of classical republican imagery shows only one side of the coin. Several examples can be found of local French authorities integrating native iconography of liberty, referring to regional identity, into their revolutionary language. For one thing, the symbols destroyed during revolutionary festivals hardly ever included elements referring to the old constitutional tradition of liberty. They were mostly limited to symbols of Austria, the high clergy and nobility. Rather, the French authorities tried to recycle the old Belgian or Brabantine conception of liberty in a purified form.

The symbol par excellence of the Brabantine constitutional tradition was the lion. The history of its use and dissemination again illustrates the entanglement of Brabantine and Belgian layers of meaning. A single gold lion originally appeared in the Duchy of Brabant's coats of arms. When in 1581 the Estates-General of the Netherlands annulled their loyalty to the Spanish King Philip II, they substituted the royal insignia on their seal with the Brabantine lion.[115] The lion could aptly serve as a symbol for the Netherlands as almost all of its provinces sported one or more variants in their coats of arms.[116] More importantly, Philip II's deposition had been motivated by the famous article 59 of the Joyous Entrée, an exclusively Brabantine charter. Thus the Brabantine lion grew into a symbol of Belgian constitutional liberty. At the same time maps of the Netherlands shaped in the form of a lion, the so-called 'leo belgicus', were being produced.[117] This iconography

114 Ibid., 230.

115 Joseph Cuvelier, Le Drapeau de la Belgique, *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, 5th series, vol. 13, 1927, 240; Bram Kempers, Assemblage van de Nederlandse leeuw. Politieke symboliek in heraldiek en verhalende prenten uit de zestiende eeuw, in: *idem* (ed.), *Openbaring en bedrog. De afbeelding als historische bron in de Lage* Landen, Amsterdam, 1995, 60–100.

116 Sébastien Dubois, *L'invention de la Belgique. Genèse d'un Etat-Nation*, Brussels, 2005,362; Ronald Tooley, *Leo Belgicus: an Illustrated List of Variants*, London, 1963, 4.

117 Stichting Historische Cartografie van de Nederlanden, *Keizer Karel en de leeuw: de oorsprong van de Nederlandse cartografie en de Leo Belgicus*, Alphen aan de Rijn, 2000, 15; Tooley, *Leo Belgicus*; Henk A.M.Van der Heijden, *Leo Belgicus: An Illustrated and Annotated Carto-Bibliography*, Alphen aan de Rijn, 1990, 15.

was recycled and further elaborated during the Brabant Revolt.[118] The coins of the United States of Belgium bore a standing lion brandishing a sword in defence of the constitutions, accompanied either by a pole of liberty or by a bundle of arrows representing the rebellious provinces.[119] In adopting these last two elements, the Sovereign Congress openly imitated the republican iconography of the Dutch Republic.

Despite its strong connotations of ancient regime constitutionalism, the Belgian or Brabantine lion proved too powerful a liberty symbol to be ignored by the French administrators. Several examples can be found of deliberate appropriation of the symbol in a republicanized fashion. The ceremonial deployed at the Festival of Union staged in Brussels in 1795 on the occasion of the formal annexation of the Belgian provinces is especially telling in this respect. In his accompanying speech, a member of the provisional government explicitly addressed the issue of liberty symbols:

> No more of these rapacious eagles, no more of these crowns that wither the people, the genuine Belgian Lion never was a Duke, nor a Count, nor a Marquis, nor a Prelate, he has never wanted to be crowned. All the signs of our slavery have disappeared, the fire has cleansed the earth from them.[120]

At the opening of the ceremony a pyramid topped with the coats of arms of the Austrian Empire and the Duchy of Brabant (including the lion) was indeed burned on the square. Yet the lion was not altogether banned. In the temple an allegorical image of the union between France and Belgium had been composed in which both countries were represented as warriors shaking hands over the altar of the fatherland. Whereas France wore a helmet crowned by the Gaulish cock, Belgium's helmet was decorated with a lion. Purified from its connections with Austria and the old regime, it was meant to represent the freedom loving Belgian people.

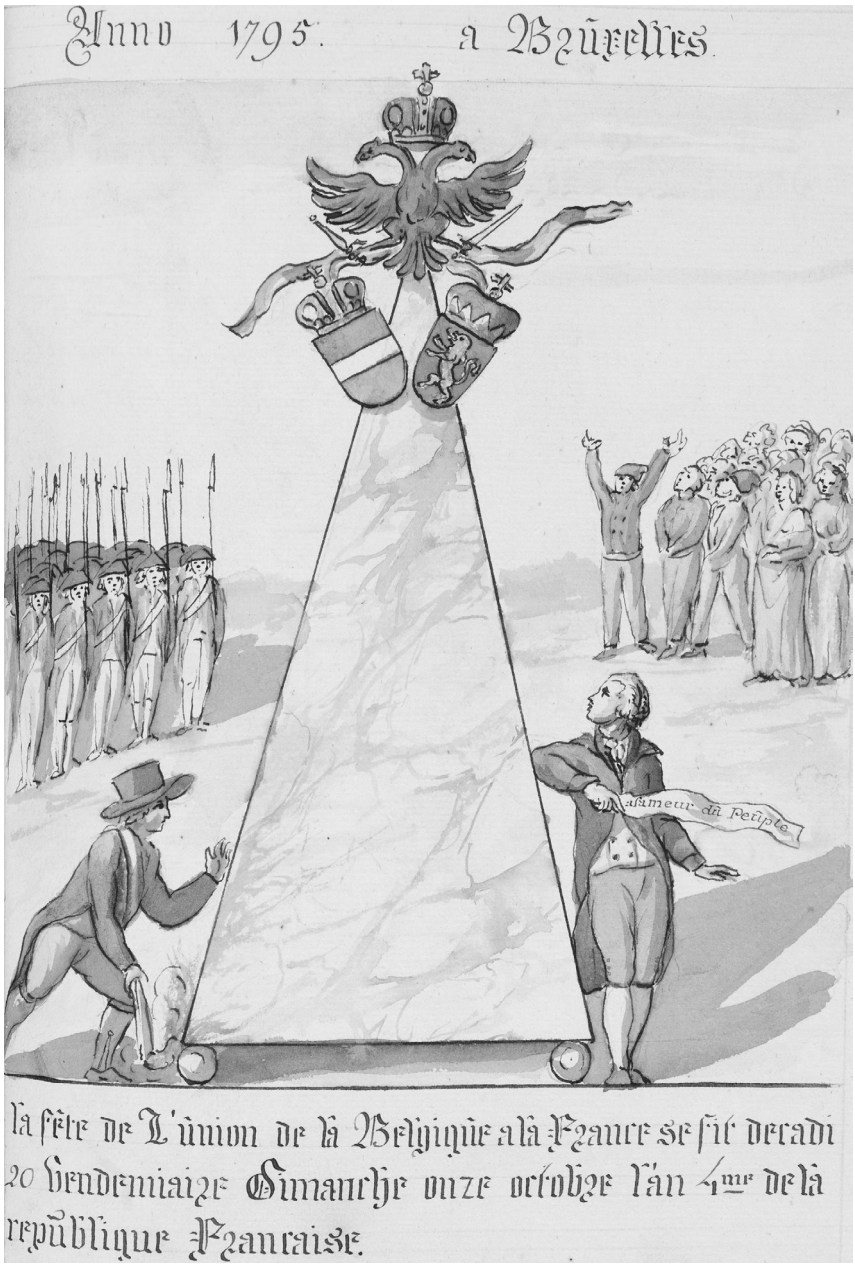
A similar case of iconographic recuperation can be found in the letterhead used by the urban administration of Brussels.[121] The middle and left sides of

118 Luc Duerloo, De kleuren en symbolen van de Brabantse Omwenteling, in: HansBots/Wijnand Mijnhardt (eds.), *De droom van de Revolutie. Nieuwe benaderingen van het Patriottisme*, Amsterdam, 1988, 95.

119 Georges Cumont, *Les monnaies des Etats-Belgiques-Unis*, Brussels, 1885, 45.

120 '*Plus de ces aigles rapaces, plus de ces couronnes flétrissantes pour le peuple, la vrai Lion-Belgique ne fut jamais ni Duc, ni Comte, ni Marquis, ni Prélat, jamais il n'a voulu être couronné, tous les signes de notre esclavage sont disparus, le feu en a purifié cette terre*' (Royal Library of Belgium, MS. II1492, P.A.J. Goetsbloets, *Tijdsgebeurtenissen*, vol. 3, f. 204).

121 State Archives in Brussels (Anderlecht), Dyle departement, nr. 4661, letter of 8 Floréal year 5.



Caption: Burning of a pyramid bearing the arms of Austria and Brabant during the Festival of Union in Brussels, 1795 (P.A.J. Goetsbloets, Tijdsgebeurtenissen, Royal Library of Belgium).

Caption: Allegory of France and Belgium shaking hands over the Altar of the Fatherland during the Festival of Union in Brussels, 1795 (P.A.J. Goetsbloets,Tijdsgebeurtenissen, Royal Library of Belgium).

the composition show a goddess holding the symbols of liberty and equality and standing under a liberty tree, surrounded by the emblems of industry and agriculture, while in the background of the right side the skyline of Brussels is visible. The right side specifies the conditions under which the city's general prosperity, implied by the aforementioned emblems, may be expected: a Gaulish cock and a Belgian (or Brabantine) lion lying in fraternal unity around the altar of human rights. In its paws the lion holds a bundle of arrows as a symbol of the unity between both countries.

Thus, the symbol of the Belgian or Brabantine lion was treated in a way similar to the theme of the Belgian or Brabantine love of liberty in discourse. Stripped of its connection with the pernicious old constitutions, it was appropriated in republican imagery and presented as a symbol of the true, freedom-loving people. In much the same way speechmakers had released the theme of the Belgian or Brabantine love of freedom from its 'aristocratic' constitutional context so as to identify it with the ideal of French revolutionary liberty. Doing so allowed French administrators to appropriate a time-honoured symbol carrying notions of regional identity and old regime constitutionalism in their supposedly abstract discourse of revolutionary liberty and equality. They thereby clearly aimed at playing on sentiments of regional identity and traditional political culture in their audience so as to facilitate the acceptance of their message.

Interestingly, and in spite of these attempts, the lion equally served as a symbol of resistance against French domination. Among the population, the French revolutionary symbols of liberty were far from popular. For one thing, the republican festivals were notable for their lack of popular participation.[122] In their reports to Paris French officials complained that the ceremonies could hardly be called festivals as the people did not partake in them. Local chronicles abound with incomprehension and ridicule for the new and abstract imagery. At the occasion of the Festival of Liberty on 27 July 1797, one chronicler wrote: 'this was like a festival of insane people and much resembled Carnival'.[123] Many liberty trees were vandalized or cut down in nightly acts of resistance. Revealingly, opponents of the regime resorted to the older native imagery of liberty to voice their discontent with the French regime. In patriotic pamphlets the Belgian lion was revived as a symbol of Belgian resistance. Rebellious libels

122 Deseure, *Een bruikbaar verleden*, 355.

123 '*Deeze feest was zeer geleijkende aen zinnelooze menschen, en aen eenen Vastenavond*' (Royal Library of Belgium, MS. II1492, P.A.J. Goetsbloets, *Tijdsgebeurtenissen*, vol. 8, f.33v).

were frequently signed by *le vrai lion belge* or *le lion patriotique*.[124] The old native symbols of liberty took on a patriotic value when set out against the new revolutionary imagery, suggesting considerable agency on the part of the inhabitants to contest the new, republican interpretation of the Brabantine liberty tradition promoted by the French officials.

Conclusion

As was clear in the introduction to this chapter, the traditional bipolar view on the relation between nation and region in the modern period has lost much of its credibility over recent decades. Even in France, considered to be the cradle of the modern nation state, the promotion of an awareness of national belonging did not run counter to the fostering of regional memories and identities. Both have often been mutually supportive, as many a study on the period of the Third Republic has illustrated. The present inquiry confirms these findings and takes them further.

For whereas most research had hitherto concentrated on the flowering of the nation state in the nineteenth century, it now becomes clear that the very genesis of the French nation state was rich with ambiguities. The case of the former Duchy of Brabant is telling in this respect. As a peripheral and only recently incorporated region, it confronted the promoters of the One and Indivisible Republic with the challenge of turning a largely alien population into Frenchmen. As such it constitutes an interesting test case to observe the French administrators' strategies and attitudes towards existing regional identities and cultures of memory.

In light of the alleged anti-regional agenda of the representatives of the French state, the results of this inquiry come as a surprise. Rather than generally reject regional identities, French officials in Brabant followed a multilayered approach. Whereas the old provinces were abolished and the unity of all Frenchmen was emphasized, elements of regional memory and identity were at the same time selectively and pragmatically recuperated. In the present inquiry the focus lay on the official discourse on liberty. Evidently the revolutionary

124 Dubois, *L'invention*, 117; L. Leclère, L'esprit public en Belgique de 1795 à 1800, in: *Revue d'histoire moderne* 15, 1940, 35; *Eclipse Francaise. Commentaire impartial de la Lettre Pastorale de Jean Marassé. A l'usage de ceux, qui pourraient en avoir besoin*, 1793; Royal Library of Belgium, MS. II1492, P.A.J. Goetsbloets, *Tijdsgebeurtenissen*, vol. 3, f.136.

conception of liberty constituted a core element of the idea of the One and Indivisible Republic. The degree to which this conception of liberty was associated with elements of regional memory is therefore all the more remarkable.

Representatives of the French government indeed actively appropriated the autochthonous Brabantine tradition of political liberty in their discourse. The memory of the Brabantine constitutions and their political implications had a strong mobilizing potential, as had been illustrated by the Brabant Revolution. From the very beginning that memory was therefore targeted by connecting it to the revolutionary conception of liberty. As such the latter was made recognisable to the inhabitants, while its introduction in Brabant was historically legitimated. At the same time the French administrators were careful to distinguish 'true' liberty from constitutionalism so as to guarantee ideological correctness. A very similar treatment befell the traditional symbols of Brabantine memory and identity which were appropriated in the French discourse on liberty after being 'cleansed' of their connections with constitutionalism.

In the French context, the Brabantine case can hardly be called typical. As the duchy had only recently been annexed to France as a result of military conquest, promoting French national identity there was far less evident than in the French heartland. The regime's failure to acquire real popular support was painfully illustrated when parts of the countryside rose in revolt against the laws of conscription in 1797–98.[125] In these circumstances inclusion of elements of autochthonous identity into official discourse may have been a logical choice. Yet the fact that regional memory was targeted, despite the centralizing tendencies present in revolutionary and directorial policies, is indicative of its political potential.[126]

The current state of research does not allow us to compare the political appropriation of regional identity in Brabant with other regions in the *départements réunis*. However, the interconnection between regional and proto-national layers of meaning in the Brabantine tradition of liberty, and its strong resonance in the whole of the Netherlands, suggests that the Brabantine case is exceptional. In fact, Brabantine regional memory has strongly informed the political culture of any regime in the Southern Netherlands from the Austrian

125 Luc Dhondt, La guerre des paysans, in: Hervé Hasquin (ed.), *La Belgique française, 1792–1815*, Brussels, 1993, 141–69.

126 Levels of memory and identity other than the regional one were also appropriated in French official discourse. On the treatment of local memories and identities, read: Deseure, Rappelez-leur.

Empire up until the Kingdom of Belgium founded in 1830. What these successive political reinterpretations make clear is that the political relevance of this tradition of old-regime regional memory has made it almost unavoidable for succeeding regimes to draw on, whatever their ideological orientation. In cases like these regional memories and identities have not so much been passively subsumed by their national counterparts but have rather defined the direction of the latter's development.

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